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Piesta del Pero-Palo: a devil of a good time.



Feria de Abril: Springtim In Seville.

The people of Spain love a good festival. So hardly a month goes by without something happening in some city, town or village. All across Spain.

There's all the fun, fireworks and costumes of the carnival festivals everywhere. There's the Feria de Abril in Seville to celebrate spring.

At "Las Fallas" in Valencia 20 foot high sculptures are burned to cleanse the old and make room for the new. Stilt dancers in Anguiano celebrate the Feast of

Mary Magdalene. There's the extraordinary running of the bulls in Pampiona and the Burial of the Sardine in Murcia. For more information on our festivals of saints,

seasons and song, see your travel agent.

See What You've Missed By Not Seeing Spain.





#### Two Roads to Pennsylvania Avenue

How did they get here?

The road to leadership begins long before the conventions or the primaries. It lies in the paths taken from classroom to playing field, from scout camp to boot camp.

In a Frontline/TIME Magazine election special, author and historian Garry Wills traces the lives of George Bush and Michael Dukakis as their ideas, their personalities, and their careers evolve.

Pierce the facade of campaign rhetoric to meet the real men who would be president. Watch "Campaign: The Choice"-and cast a more educated vote on November 8.

Watch Campaign: The Choice

Monday, October 24, 9PM on PBS Check local listings



#### COVER: 18 Ghosts of 1960 haunt the campaign of 1988

Once again, a Democrat from Massachusetts is challenging a Republican Vice President for the White House. But beyond the surface similarities lie vast differences. • Bush widens the likability gap with Dukakis. • Nancy Reagan promised to stop borrowing designer dresses—but has she? • Helping the homeless—a campaign essay. See NATION.

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# WORLD: A volatile mix of nationalistic pride, ethnic rage and economic fatigue stirs up Eastern Europe

As Yugoslavia's numerically dominant Serbs demand a larger share of influence, several Soviet republics push for greater autonomy. Why many Israeli voters are flocking to the splinter parties on the right and the left. Sri Lanka's Tamil and Sinhalese militants move violently to distrupt elections. A personal odyssey along the 2076-mile U.S.-Mexican border.



#### BUSINESS: A major bank is indicted for running a global drugmoney laundering operation

Working undercover for two years, Customs agents infiltrate a drug ring, then stage a Florida wedding to nab bankers who allegedly operate on both sides of the law. "Welcome to Tampa," said one agent to a suspect. "You're under arrest." The probe was called Operation C-Chase, for the \$100 bills that are the denomination of choice in drug deals.

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#### SPORT: Setting and settling its season in the West, baseball leaves it to Oakland and Los Angeles to touch the last bases

In the muscle-bound A's and the self-effacing Dodgers, California has made a private preserve of the annual passage Tommy Lasorda actually calls "the fall classic." Orel Hershiser peers in for the sign; Jose Canseco lifts a bolt of mountain ash. When they are finished, winter will be in sight. > Wanna do an inning of play-by-play?

82



#### TRAVEL: Trump acquires the ultimate power toy

He has it all on the ground. and now the billionaire developer has the Eastern Shuttle, his very own airline for ferrying the high and mighty up and down the East Coast.

73



#### LAW: Is the high bench set for a tilt to the right?

As the U.S. Supreme Court considers reversing one of its own civil rights rulings, the question is whether a conservative majority is already in place. > When justice is blind and nameless.



#### TECHNOLOGY: A first look at the **Next Computer**

Steven Jobs, the former chairman of Apple, attempts a comeback with a \$6,500 matte black machine that is packed with the right stuff. But will it be too late-and too expensive-to succeed?

80



#### PROFILE: Writer Susan Sontag won't slow down

An ardent modernist with the earnestness-and energy-of a Victorian moralist, she's readying a book on AIDS. finishing a novel, narrating a documentary. "I love to go faster." she says.



#### **BOOKS: The legend** of Billy the Kid as horse-opera bouffe Novelist Larry McMurtry

converts facts into folklore, tapping themes that belong to our cultural gene pool. ▶ William Shawcross recounts the decline and fall

of the Shah of Iran.



#### ART: A rare look at one of France's great painters In Fort Worth, the first U.S.

retrospective of Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) reveals a grand classicist who reimagined antiquity with fire and passion.

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## **ALL WINGTIPS** ROCKPORTS ARE DE DO THE SAM The first thing you'll notice is what DresSports don't have: excessive weight. Fact is,

The C.E.O. wears them. The guys down the hall in marketing wear them. Even the intern from Harvard wears them

Though wingtips may be good for business, we at Rockport don't think they're

very good for businessmen. Rockport 10.2 oz Air Max. And look a Why? After fifteen years of studying the

effects walking can have on the human body. we've learned that walking in shoes as heavy, rigid and cushionless as

conventional wingtips can lead not just to sore feet. but to a litany of more serious health problems.

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That's why we developed a new kind of men's footwear: DresSport Shoes. Like all dress shoes, they're good for business. Like all Rockports, they're good for your health.

DresSports weigh less than Nike®Air Max™running shoes and about half as

much as conventional wingtips.

Then you'll notice what DresSports do have: our exclusive Walk Support System,™ a unique combination of design, materials and technology that has helped make Rockport

the first shoe ever awarded the Seal of Acceptance by the American Podiatric

Medical Association.

Winning the approval of doctors isn't exactly a rare occurrence for us, either. The

Rockport Walking Institute, for example, which studies the effects of walking on an ongoing basis, has had seven scientific studies accepted by the American College of Sports Medicine.

And recently, a team of biomechanists and cardiologists working

at the University of Massachusetts

Medical School tested DresSports against three name-

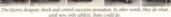
brand wingtips. The results were interesting.

DresSports were found to be far superior in dissipating shock and controlling excessive pronation to any other shoes tested.

# LASTA LONG TIME. SIGNED TO HELP YOU

Furthermore, two of the shoes, both bestselling wingtips, actually forced people to change their gait, which can result in aching ankles, knees, backs and other physical problems.





If, for some reason, all of this doesn't convince you to buy a pair of DresSports, perhaps our 30-Day Walk Test Guarantee will:

#### THE ROCKPORT 30-DAY WALK TEST GUARANTEE.

If, after wearing DresSports for 30 days, you don't think they're the most comfortable dress shoes you own, vour dealer will give you a full refund. No questions asked.

How can we afford to make an offer like this? Simply because we believe you'll soon discover what everyone

who wears DresSports discovers: they not only make walking more comfortable, they actually encourage you to walk more.

Which is why all shoes may add something to your wardrobe, but Rockports can also add years to your life. Rockport

THE WALKING SHOE COMPANY.

For the Rockport dealer nearest you. please turn the page.

#### Letters

CAMPAIGN STRATEGISTS

# "What happened to the old days when candidates thought for themselves and debated real issues?"

Robert H. Moulton III, Aurora, Colo.

Now we are given these phony presidential campaigns and are expected to select either George Bush or Michael Dukakis to run our country [NATION, Oct. 3]. The process is frightening and insulting. These political handlers could probably run Adolf Hitler against Charles Manson and make them seem solid candidates.

Debbie Elbert Cincinnati

The "Battle of the Handlers" was a sad but accurate account of how politics has been bastardized. What happened to the old days when candidates thought for themselves and debated real issues?

Robert H. Moulton III Aurora, Colo.

What to me is a telling flaw in the character of Dukakis is that when he was doing well in the polls, he let John Sasso



go for his role in providing the "dirty tricks" video on Senator Joe Biden. But Dukakis took Sasso back when the campaign began to falter. The man claims to have principles but will compromise them when the going gets rocky.

W. Lee Thuston Birmingham

Something's wrong. Bush and Dukakis became the candidates when we could have had James Baker and John Sasso.

Emanuel Gold Long Branch, N.J.

Carp we may about the meanness of the Bush-Dukakis race, but it is part of a time-honored tradition that goes back at least 2,050 years. Witness the advice of Quintus to his brother Cicero in the 64 B.C. campaign for the Roman consulate against Catiline: "Be lavish in your prom-

## Three great reasons movie lovers are staying home.

MONDAY OCTOBER

TUESDAY



One of the most acclaimed motion pictures of our time

OUT OF AFRICA

Robert Redford Meryl Streep

Was it a remedy for pain or a prescription for murder?

Based on a true story.

Tom Conti Patty Duke

THURSDAY OCTOBER 20 No boy should ever have to choose between his mother and the woman he loves.

Something of the sound of the s

Ellen Burstyn Patrick Cassidy Tuesday Weld



Check local listings for time and channel



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#### Letters

ises," Quintus said. "Men prefer a false | promise to a flat refusal . . . Contrive to get some new scandal aired against your rivals for crime, corruption or immorality." Not surprisingly, Cicero won James Dermody

Northville, Mich.

#### The Duke Carried **The Debate** Forty-four percent of

our readers agreed that

**Dukakis beat out Bush** 

debate; 35% backed

Bush, and 21% said

neither was a winner

in their Sept. 25

silly analysis by the media about the performances of the candidates [NATION, Oct. 101. Governor Dukakis was described as cold and too much like an attorney because he was articulate. lucid and in command of his interpretation of the facts Vice President Bush, because he bumbled and fum bled and forgot the name of

After the debate, we were subjected to some very

**Debating the Debate** 

a weapons system, was said to have displayed a warm and endearing quality

New York City

In the mouth of Bush, "liberal" has come to be the newest dirty word. " 'When I use a word.' Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, 'it means just what I choose it to mean-neither more nor less.' 'The question is,' said Alice, 'whether you can make words mean so many different things."

Jean Snow Gig Harbor, Wash.

Bush appeared in the flesh for the debate, a real, live human being with the flaws and hesitations we all have when we're in an uncomfortable situation. But why didn't the other guy show up? Why did they send this "Smug Mike" doll with its computerized, canned replies?

Kenneth Mitzner Torrance, Calif.

#### Alert Listener

TIME claimed in its story "The Candidates' Love Match" [NATION, Sept. 26] that "Pat Nixon occasionally napped during her husband's stump speech." I have never read or heard this assertion, nor has Mrs. Nixon's daughter and biographer Julie Nixon Eisenhower. I have spoken to people far more familiar with the Nixons' careers than I, and all tell me they are unaware of even one such instance. They say it was simply not Mrs. Nixon's style. Your statement has done damage to her reputation as one of the most dignified and loyal First Ladies in history

John H. Taylor Assistant to President Nixon New York City

#### **Olympic Victors**

I have always been an avid fan of the Games [SPECIAL SECTION, Oct. 3], summer and winter competitions alike. I watched the Olympics through all the events with tears in my eyes. The dedicated athletes from around the world are truly, as you stated, "Winners All!" I am very proud of all of them

Norway, Me.

If there is anyone who deserved the Olympic gold in Seoul, it was American diving champion Greg Louganis. It was a joy to discover an athlete who is concerned not just about winning and breaking world records but also about sharing his time and talent with individuals who are less fortunate.

Isidro Manuel Valero Quezon City, The Philippines

You were too harsh in criticizing Bryant Gumbel's excellent TV anchoring of the Olympics. He was pleasant as well as knowledgeable, and he was never sober or "brooding." What is so funny about the Olympics that they need someone to yuk it up? Gumbel kept his composure and good nature under relentless pressure. Rae Crickara

Ventura, Calif.

If this year's TV coverage is an indication of what is to come, I know I'll get more excitement from reading the newspaper during the next Olympics. To cram that many advertisements between and even during events must have earned someone the "gold" for programming. Steven R. Sommerfeld

Anchorage

Who needs NBC and Gumbel's incessant talk show? Not those of us in the Pacific Northwest. We were lucky enough to be able to tune in to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's superb coverage.

Kalli I. Priidik Firerest, Wash

#### Not the Source

You state that I "leaked" to the Washington Times the comments of Speaker of the House Jim Wright to leaders of the Nicaraguan resistance on alleged CIA actions in Nicaragua [WORLD Oct. 31. I have publicly and categorically denied that I did anything of the sort. Had you bothered to ask, I would have denied it for TIME as well. In this case, the price for Wright's irresponsible charges will be paid not by U.S. politicians but by the

TIME, OCTOBER 24, 1988

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tions: Rate \$5.00 higher in Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore/Washington, and Atlanta, and not available in the

New York metro area; cars must be returned to renting location; refueling charges (if you don't refill the tank); and a mileage charge over 75 miles a day (32¢ or less per mile). Taxes, Loss Damage Waiver, and other optional services are extra. If you're under 25, rates are higher.

If you've got a sudden urge to drive the car Car and Driver called "...an American luxury sedan with road sense," Hertz and American Express make perfect sense. Is there a deodorant soap that can really fight dry skin?

O0000000000 Yes.

Introducing new Sateguard DS. The revolutionary deodorant soap with special skin care ingredients that help retain skin's natural moisture. So it doesn't dry your skin like other deodorant soaps. For the best protection from dry skin and body odor, new Sateguard DS.

The deodorant soap that fights dry skin

soap skin. DS for Dry Ski courageous Nicaraguan democrats all Americans should be supporting in their struggle for human rights. Elliott Abrams

Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Washington

#### Nowhere to Go

The condition of our public rest rooms is a national disgrace [AMERICAN SCENE Oct. 31. Perhaps the solution is to follow the example of many European countries and have an attendant whose job is to open the door hand the person a towel and clean up immediately afterward.

Barbara S. Tilton Newark, Del.

An exception to your report is the numerous rest rooms in Atlantic City's casino hotels: immaculate, with soap, towels and tissues at all times, ample facilities and attendants always on duty

Roy Berman Philadelphia

Italy solved this problem by contracting public rest rooms to people who take care of the premises: they buy all supplies. supervise with a hawkeve, make change for the coin-operated stalls and hold out their hands for gratuities. There is no monkey business in these tidy operations. The Vatican uses a similar system.

Louis A. Schultz Sandusky, Ohio

#### Serious About Space

It is well known that, as an ardent supporter of NASA, I was among the first volunteers in the American civilian-inspace effort. After this program was suspended following the Challenger tragedy, I was intrigued by an offer from the Soviets [PEOPLE, Sept. 5] about flying to their space station. They asserted that their costs for one year's cosmonaut training. transportation to and from the space station and one week's stay aboard the spacecraft, including one supply rocket midweek, total \$10 million. While I recognize that reasonable costs must be paid for such a venture, I have stated firmly that I am not interested in paying \$10 million to spend seven days in space. This project is very serious to me. It has both political and social ramifications. I appreciate neither the press's inaccuracy nor its insinuation that such an endeavor would be taken lightly.

John Denver Aspen, Colo.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be add to TIME. Time & Life Building. Rockefeller Center. New York, N.Y. 10020, or may be faxed to TIME at (212) 522-0907 They should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone. Letters may be edited for purposes of clarity or space

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These leaders of The Goodwin Agency are (left to right, seated): Jeff Lantz, CLU, ChFC; Susan Crockett, CLU; John Law, CLU; Rob Danner, CLU, ChFC and Robert Hammond, CLU; (standing) Dick Tash; Kent Baldschun; Weldon Baird, CLU; Paul Cable, CLU; Dick Van Leuvan, CLU, ChFC; Mike Espenlaub, CLU and Dan Wisted.





#### **Critics' Choice**



EDGAR DEGAS, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City. If there must be block-buster shows, this is the kind to have—huge (more than 300 works), thought provoking and beautiful. Its like will not be seen again in our lifetime. Through Jan. 8.

POUSSIN: THE EARLY YEARS IN ROME, Kimbell Museum, Fort Worth. The first major show in North America devoted to the 17th century master who was the father of classical French painting. Through Nov. 27.

ALBERTO GIACOMETTI
1901-1966, Hirshhorn Museum, Washington. The paintings. drawings and familiar elongated sculptures of the great Swiss-born modernist. Through Nov. 13.

PAUL GAUGUIN, Art Institute of Chicago. Two major attractions in one: a revelatory retrospective that shows Gauguin whole for the first time, housed in the top floor of the institute's new Rice Building. Through Dec. 11.



A BRIGHT SHINING LIE by Neil Sheehan (Random House; \$24.95). In a riveting portrait, John Paul Vann, a major architect of U.S. policy in Viet Nam, emerges as a man who embodied the contradictions of his illfated mission: a courageous dogooder with a dark streak of amorality.

#### BERNARD SHAW: THE SEARCH FOR LOVE by Michael Holroyd (Random

House; \$24.95). The first of a projected three-volume life takes its brilliant, cantankerous subject to age 42, through journalism—and love affairs—to playwriting and toward his towering reputation.

THE MACIC LANTERN by Ingmar Bergman (Viking; \$19.95). Like a box full of old slides or a Bergman movie—the Swedish director's searching memoirs are alive with frozen moments. many of them cruelly revealing.



LIP SERVICE (HBO, Oct. 20, 23, 26, 29). A TV station tries to boost its ratings by teaming a veteran newscaster (Paul Dooley) with a shallow young oc-host (Griffin Dunne). Familiar TV satire given some trenchant new twists by playwright Howard Korder.

JACK THE RIPPER (CBS, Oct. 21 and 23, 9 p.m. EDT). Michael Caine is a Scotland Yard detective tracking down the granddaddy of all serial killers in this two-parter.

DAVID (ABC, Oct. 25, 9 p.m. EDT). Bernadette Peters, starring in her first TV movie, plays a single mother whose six-year-old son is burned nearly to death by his father. Based, as usual, on a true story.



PAUL ROBESON. The script is uncritical idolatry, but Avery Brooks (Spenser: For Hire) gives this one-man Broadway show a dignity, emotional force and singing voice as awesome as the American original he recreate.

A SHAYNA MAIDEL. Gordana Rashovich has resumed a stunning performance in this off-Broadway story of a family divided by Hitler's Holocaust.

RUMORS. After a meditative family trilogy, box-office champ Neil Simon returns to riotous farce in his 23rd play, at San Diego's Old Globe on its way to Broadway.



BIZET: SYMPHONY IN C MA-JOR; "L'ARLESIENNE" SUITE

(Erato). Grace, style, panache and a certain je ne sais quoi: Bizet had it all. Just what the doctor ordered when you're sick of the three German Bs.

KEITH RICHARDS: TALK IS CHEAP (Virgin). From the shaking dance-club tune Big Enough to the sinuous Locked Away, Keith Richards first solo album is a gas. Surprise: the hardest rolling Stone is a take-charge songwriter. Who needs Mick?

DAVID LINDLEY & EL RAYO-X: VERY GREASY (Elektra/ Asylum). Good-time music to dance to, or goof to, much of it with a Caribbean inflection. Produced by Linda Ronstadt, with minimal sheen and plentry of humor.



ANOTHER WOMAN. Woody Allen goes serious again, but brilliantly this time. Gena Rowlands plays a New Yorker who has reached that point in life when what is past hope is past regret, but not past consolation.

BIRD. Clint Eastwood's passionate biography of jazz great Charlie Parker hits the high notes, and finds new blue ones, in the story of a genius who could resist everything but temptation.

PUNCHLINE. An inspired Tom Hanks, our reigning master of desperate expediency, steals the show from a coolly expert Sally Field in writer-director David Seltzer's foray into the world of stand-up, knockdown comedy.

TRACK 29. It's mother love with the proper stranger in this surreal treat from director Nicolas Roeg. Theresa Russell is the troubled mom. Gary Oldman the man who may be her son.

#### John Kenneth Galbraith

# ON VOTING

"Elections can be two things: they can be a spectator sport as to who wins and loses, what the polls show, or they can be an occasion for developing the issues that are important to the American people. I very much think they should be the latter."

John Kenneth Galbraith Economist

TIME Magazine sponsors "On Voting" on public television.

#### **American Scene**

Flemington, New Jersey

#### **A Town That Bargains Built**

In New Jersey's pastures, credit cards grow even greener



#### BY J.D. REED

This is the New Jersey that David Letterman cannot work into a quip. If one drives east from the Delaware River on an apple-crisp autumn afternoon, a landscape of cornfields, horse farms and

emblazoned with pricey logos: ADIDAS. CALVIN KLEIN, VILLEROY & BOCH, Just who, a gridlocked visitor wonders, would come to rural Flemington, N.J., to buy such chic cityside items as Waterford crystal or Joan & David shoes? The answer: a growing legion of well-heeled



ty shoppers flee to Flemington for bargains from around the world

#### Urban consumers engage in a venerable American dream-the inalienable right to pursue the deep discount

wooded hills unrolls from the horizon. There is not a chemical factory or oil refinery in sight. Oh, oh, wait a minute. On the outskirts of Flemington, a picturesque village of Victorian homes and red-brick buildings, a sign proclaims, FACTORY LUGGAGE OUTLET-BRAND NAMES AT BIG SAVINGS! Something decidedly unbucolic is going on out here

The impression is confirmed a few moments later in the snarled traffic on Flemington's tree-shaded Main Street. People stream along the sidewalks and across the street carrying plastic bags devotees of factory-outlet shopping. Forget the downtown department store and the suburban shopping mall. Leave the catalogs on the coffee table and turn off the video-shopping channel Hop into the car with a full bandolier of credit cards and head for the outback. Tucked away in Monterey, Calif.; Boaz, Ala.; Rockford, Mich.: Freeport, Me.: and a dozen odd small towns in between, scores of manufacturers' outlet stores are doing a land-office business by offering 25% to 70% savings. Along with the bargains, urban consumers enjoy a day in the country

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and engage in a venerable American dream—the inalienable right to pursue the deep discount. Says Charles Bloom, a Flemington-based developer who has put together six profitable factory-to-you outlet villages in the U.S.: "This is the wave of the retail future."

For little Flemington (pop. 4,000), once a center of iron foundries, the wave is of tidal proportions. The town's history as a bargain haven goes back to the turn of the century. Its success, though, really took off in 1921, when the Flemington Fur Co. opened its doors to sell the fur coats it made there. The outlet became an East Coast shopping mecca. These days it sells a \$10,500 mink coat for a mere \$7.895. Furs were not enough to save Flemington. In the mid-1970s, when the town was losing business to shopping malls, and its retail space could be rented cheaply, the Dansk kitchenware firm opened a factory outlet, hoping to capitalize on the fur company's cachet. By 1982, Bloom, 63, a New Jersey accountant who had wandered into real estate, had transformed a cluster of artisans' shops in Flemington into an 88-store outlet complex called Liberty Village. Much of the success, he says, is that "in outlets, you know you're getting the real brand-name merchandise.

oday some 15000 shoppen a week descend on about 125 outlets in town to get the real stuff. Young couples from Manhattan take an hour's drive on Saturdays to stock up on Fielderens theets; Philadephia Man Lines rets kome 40 miles for Harve Benard outlist. Suburban mora sotenier citizens on bas tours from as far away as central Pennsylvania bay Carter's coloning for grandchildren. Even give clocking for grandchildren. Even give discounts. Flemington merchants grossed about \$100 million sat year, and they ex-

pect to do better this year. Liberty Village, the commercial heart of Flemington, is somewhat of a surprise. Meandering over several acres of former farmland, the pleasant re-creation of a colonial marketplace boasts wide brick sidewalks, several luncheon stops and plenty of rest rooms. Long gone are the pipe racks and jumbled bins of second-quality merchandise in dusty warehouses. Since the manufacturers are selling their own goods, the stores are well stocked and well organized. Says Jean Smith, the manager of Liberty Village: "Mostly we have last season's styles and production overruns." Indeed, "Flemington is not competing with K mart," says Fran Durst, president of the Hunterdon County Chamber of Commerce, which has headquarters here. "In the Anne Klein outlet, you're still going to pay \$250 for a suit. But it would have cost you \$500 in Bloomingdale's."

Flemington shoppers have their own styles and strategies. Holly Hayden, an insurance-company computer operator



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#### American Scene

from Monmouth County, an hour's drive away, visits the shops three or four times a year to see what's new. Browsing through the Revere Ware outlet on this Saturday, she's looking for a wedding gift for a friend. "I shop Flemington generically," she says. "This gift has to be tableware, so I'll get the best things I can find here, or at Royal Doulton or Waterford."

For Dr. Frank Pinto, a U.S. Navy physician stationed at the submarine base in Groton, Conn., shopping in Flemington is a kind of pre-emptive strike against overpaying. He strides through the Van Heusen outlet, selecting sport shirts from neat stacks. "I planned to stop off here on a trip to Philadelphia," he says, "just to avoid the ungodly markups on clothing at the regular stores

To some, low prices are only part of the attraction. Says Luanne Culbert, a New Jersey chiropractor's wife who gave up her job as a stockbroker to raise her daughter Erin, 2: "It's a great day in the fresh air without the hubbub of the mall. I look for things that aren't in the department stores.

N ot everyone shops all the time in Flemington. The town's park benches are crowded with bargain widowershusbands who drowse in the sunshine while their wives continue the hunt. Fathers of young children often elect to take a ride on the historic Black River and Western Railroad, an aging three-car train that rambles some eleven miles through the woodlands to Ringoes, N.J., and back five times a day

Improbably, Flemington has managed to absorb the shopping influx without undue strain or violence to its historic setting. On Main Street, for instance, stands the 1828 Greek-revival Hunterdon County courthouse, famous as the site of the sensational 1935 trial of Bruno Hauptmann, who was convicted of kidnaping and killing aviator Charles Lindbergh's baby. Just a block away is the Clothing Mansion, a three-story emporium of discounted men's wear in a carefully pre-

served old home. Some younger residents, of course, worry about expanding commercialism. Says the Chamber of Commerce's Durst: "We try to point out to them that over 50% of village taxes are paid by the merchants." Still, on a pleasant Saturday afternoon, with traffic tied up and stores mobbed with bargain blitzers, one wonders what the locals do for fun. They go shopping, of course, "We can't even move around here," says one resident, "So we usually head over to Bridgewater Commons Mall. You know, to shop at Macy's and Brooks Brothers." Apparently, it's all a matter of perspective. When you live in the middle of a bargain, full price is a new kind of kick.

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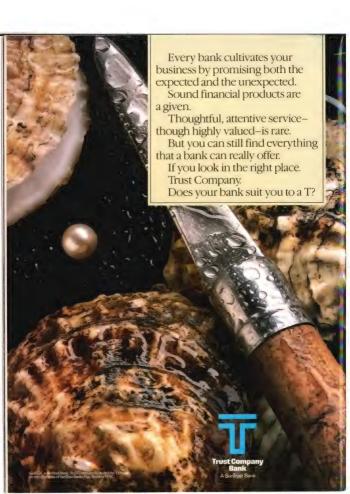
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#### From the Publisher

uick. For one Belgian endive and a single point of light. read the following quotation and name that campaign

"It was a very tight little ship. You couldn't get to the candidate himself, so you had to take too much secondor even thirdhand. The candidate had some very good people around, but they were always hiding

him from you. George Bush? Mi-

chael Dukakis? Sorry. Good guesses both, but the correct answer is Richard Nixon. The recollection comes courtesy of Burt Meyers, who covered Nixon's 1960 presidential quest for TIME. And if, as this week's cover story demonstrates, most comparisons between the 1960 and 1988 campaigns are more fanciful than actual. Meyers allows that some things have not changed

Now retired and living in Williamsburg, Va., Meyers still remembers the us-and-them mentality of the Nixon campaign. "The press pool would be put in the rear of the plane and kept away from things." Meyers recalls. Morale became so bad that the Nixon people added another public relations man to the





Trading places: Meyers with Kennedy, Sidey with Nixon in 1960

#### There was no time for inflated dachshunds on Kennedy's campaign

Kennedy paid attention to us and knew what we were writing. Even when he chewed us out, we loved it.'

At one point Meyers and Sidey switched assignments for several weeks. Meyers, accustomed to the longer meal breaks on the Nixon campaign, lost 21/2 lbs. Sidey recalls that a Kennedy staffer joked that "the Senator has said that 17 million Americans go to bed hungry at night, and he expects you to do your part

Robert L Miller

Derek Marlowe David Wickes Directed by David Wickes WORLD PREMIERE A CRS MINLSER

staff to entertain report-

ers. "One of his talents was making funny little

animals out of balloons." Meyers laughs, "But once

you've seen one little ani-

mal, you've satisfied a

on John Kennedy's cam-

paign. "It was a break-

neck, wild ride through

the nights," recalls Hugh

Sidey, who reported on

that campaign, and ev-

ery one since, for TIME.

There was no time for inflated dachshunds

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# Bush **Scores A Warm Win**

The debate in Los Angeles illuminates the power of personality as well as Dukakis' real Frostbelt problem



kakis' chance to inspire a late-inning rally to win the election-may have been lost in those opening two minutes. George Bush strode onto the stage in Los Angeles determined to prove with an avuncular assortment of smiles. chuckles, winks and asides that he was the affable heir to Ronald Reagan. But even when Dukakis tried to compete in this smile-button sweepstakes, his eerie grin had the spontaneity of a Dale Carnegie student practicing before the mirror. Asked why he did not appear more "likable," Dukakis felt compelled to launch into a petty aside disputing Bush's earlier attacks on his stewardship of Massachusetts' pension funds. Finally, as if he heard his handlers screaming. "Lighten up. Mike!" Dukakis claimed, think I'm a little more lovable these days than I used to be back in my youth." But he quickly added. "I'm also a serious guy. I think the presidency of the United States is a very serious office.

Bush won the debate largely because he triumphed in the congeniality competition. But has the pursuit of the presidency become trivialized by this intense emphasis on likability? After all, TV gameshow hosts are uniformly genial, but few Americans want Pat Sajak presiding over the National Security Council

Ever since the televised Kennedy-Nixon debates gave voters a sense of personal access to the candidates, charisma and charm have tended to overshadow all but the most transcendent election issues. But in an era of peace and at least a veneer of prosperity, the 1988 campaign has so far been dominated by slogans and sound bites masquerading as substance. Small wonder that, after two terms of awshucks Reaganism, the electorate seems to be measuring Bush and Dukakis by the same standards they assess Bill Cosbycomfort and likability.

Bush, whose apparent nervousness in the initial debate led to long interludes of



incoherence, was as relaxed and conf dent in Los Angeles as he has ever bee on a national stage. His efforts at humo seemed mostly spontaneous rather that the spoon-fed one-liners of backstas handlers. Asked to find something praise about his Democratic rival. Bus flashed a broad grin and said. "Lister you're stealing my close. I had somethin very nice to say in that." This easy-lister ing tone was established early in the de hate, when the Vice President interrupte moderator Shaw, who was trying to pose hypothetical question about Dan Quayle becoming President following Bush death. "Bernie!" Bush interjected at ju the right moment, conveying with the single word the natural human reluctant to dwell on one's own mortality. For issue-oriented voters, it may be

unfortunate that the debate seemed turn on the 1988 versions of Reagan famous "there you go again" quip. Be



here the blame rests equally with both candidates, who consciously refrained from raising new issues and arguments before the more than 62 million TV viewers. Despite a barrage of questions on the deficit. Bush and Dukakis clung to the fig. leaf provided by their dubious budget nostrums. The Vice President escaped serious challenge on his implausible insistence that his so-called flexible freeze of 4% budget growth can accommodate new domestic proposals like \$1,000 child-care grants, special-interest tax cuts and muscular military spending. Dukakis, howevgr, was hammered as he repeated his lame argument from the primaries that up to \$100 billion can be recovered by vigorous enforcement of existing tax laws Challenged as to what taxes he would raise as a last resort. Dukakis asked haplessly. "May I disagree with the premise of your question?

Deprived of realistic road maps as to

how either candidate would behave in the White House, voters were almost forced to depend on factors of character and personality to predict presidential performance. As they have through much of the campaign, both Bush and Dukakis peppered the debate with carefully chosen code words designed to camouflage their vulnerabilities. Bush, whose privileged background is alien to the life experience of most Americans, kept harping on the word values as he proclaimed that he was in tune with "the heartbeat of the country." For Dukakis, who often seems closer in spirit to Roger Rabbit than Rambo, his mantra was the adjective tough. Whether it was tackling the "tough choices" on domestic spending or the "tough and difficult decisions" on Pentagon weapons, Dukakis used the word to portray himself as possessing the macho fiber to sit in the Oval Office

Why did Dukakis, trailing in the polls.

#### Pauley Pavilion, with a TV monitor in the audience. Dukakis lost in the first two minutes

resist aggressively challenging Bush in the final debate? The clearest explanation for this passivity came from Kitty Dukakis, who said Friday. "It's hard to be aggressive and warm at the same time Michael was warmer." Maybe so, but at this rate, it may take until springtime to raise Dukakis to room temperature.

Still, the Vice President's handlers bandlers bandlers but clearly expected a more adventurous fee. In his mock debates, Bush had been carefully prepared in case Dukakis challenged him to jettison the programmed format and intended debate man-to-man, addressing each other rather than responding to the panel. This rumored Dukakis gambit was dubbed a "Nashua," after the 1980. New Hampshire G.O.P debate in which Reagan adroutly changed the ground rules on Bush after declaring, the production of the product of the

"I paid for this microphone." Had Dukakis tried this desperation ploy. Bush stood ready to exploit his most natural advantage: the 6-in, height gap separating him and the Democratic nominee. Bush would demand that Dukakis come out from behind his height-adjusted podium as a condition for attempting any reprise of Lincoln-Douglas pyrotechnics.

Instead. Dukakis cleaved to the prearranged ground rules, even when Bush, in response to a question, uttered the fateful words. "I will not agree to another debate." The Vice President's unyielding position on a third installment of this prime-time grudge match makes strategic sense for a candidate who continues to hold a consistent lead in the polls. Even before Los Angeles, an aura of inevitabil-

ity was beginning to envelop the Vice President. Already, the networks have unveiled their multicolored election-night maps to depict Bush's apparent lead in the Electoral College. As in 1980 and 1984, wide swatches of color cover most of the South and Rocky Mountain West. as the Vice President solidifies the Reagan-era Republican base. Last week's seemingly one-sided debate will only encourage the media's proclivity to pronounce the race all but over three weeks

The challenge facing Dukakis is indeed tough. Campaigning in Sacramento the day after the debate. Dukakis declared wanly, "You know that this victory is out there to be won." The quiet crowd on the steps of the state capital barely

before the first votes are cast

stirred. "You know that." Dukakis repeated, almost as if he needed to convince himself

But having squandered his last major opportunity in the debate. Dukakis is beginning to seem like a beleaguered contestant on that old-time game show. Beat the Clock. With three weeks to go, he now must depend on short bursts on the nightly news and in campaign spots to communicate a compelling rationale for his candidacy. Unless he does, the American people are likely to provide George Bush with four years in the White House as his reward for being the loyal heir to the Reagan era's legacy of peace and apparent - By Walter Shapiro. prosperity.

Reported by David Beckwith with Dukakis and Alessandra Stanley with Bush

#### The Likability Sweepstakes

... And that's the wonder, the wonder of this country, that a man can end with diamonds here on the basis of being liked!" - Death of a Salesman

Willy Loman knew how important it was to be well liked. Since Eisenhower won with the primitivist slogan "I Like Ike." Americans seem to require a pleasing affability from their Commander in Chief. Under Ronald Reagan, geniality was raised to an art form; the President became the nation's surrogate grandfather.

Pollsters say that the advent of television campaign coverage made "image impressions" more important than issues. Likability is one component of that impression. In a campaign where no single issue commands attention, it becomes even more significant.

Since last winter. Bush strategists had known they had to spruce up the Vice President's image. George Bush was seen as awkward. wimpish, maladroit. So Bush's handlers engineered a makeover. They had him utter self-

deprecating cracks about his lack of charisma. They arranged for him to be photographed amid his photogenic grandchildren.

As Bush's negatives receded, he sought to raise those of Dukakis. After slipping up in the first debate. Bush smiled and said. "Wouldn't it be nice to be the Ice Man. so you never make a mistake?" His aides later christened the contest the Nice Man vs. the Ice Man. The idea was to portray Bush's occasional goofiness as engaging, and Dukakis' competence as soulless

The Dukakis camp came late to the likability wars. Competence was what counted. So what if he sometimes seemed to be running for Accountant in Chief? After the first debate, however, polls showed this to be costly; a TIME poll revealed voters thinking that Dukakis had won. but that Bush (by 44% to 38%) was more likable. Dukakis aides began pushing for a "kinder, gentler," warmer Dukakis. In short, they wanted more Zorba, less Zeno.

The new strategy was simple: depict the Nice Man as incompetent, and the Competent Man as nice. The Governor began to act more like Mike Douglas than Mike Dukakis. In North Dakota he pecked two cheerleaders on the cheek and led a crowd in a spirited rendition of Happy Birthday. No more clenched fists; Dukakis began showing open palms.

But likability goes deeper than gestures. "It is the abil-

ity to disclose a sense of the private self in public," says Kathleen Hall Jamieson, a scholar of the presidency. "In the television age, candidates have to be comfortable with public intimacy and self-disclosure." But Dukakis, as last week's debate showed, is uncomfortable with self-disclosure. His manner suggests it's

none of your business. "Competent people are sometimes seen as arrogant." says Bush's director of polling. Vince Breglio. "He's

made competence his emblem. But competence is only a part of image. A President has to be open and caring, as

well as tough and hard. He must project a comfortable image. It's tough for Dukakis to retrace his steps now and make himself nice This week the Dukakis campaign unveils commer-

cials that attempt to thaw out the Ice Man. The ads. says Dukakis media chief David D'Alessandro, "show who he really is." Dukakis talks directly to the camera. In one he recalls what it was like to be a young father. In another he sketches his hopes for the future. But do not expect Phil Donahue. Says D'Alessandro: "Dukakis has a limit as to how much he can do as far as changing his persona." Maybe all this touchy-feely stuff is not so important after all. Noted campaign manager Susan Estrich after the debate: "I think we shouldn't make too much of -By Richard Stengel likability.



Firming up the Nice Man; thawing out the Ice Man



KENNEDY IN TENNESSEI

## Of Myth and Memory

Dreaming of 1960 in the New World

#### BY LANCE MORROW



Glendower: I can call spirits from the vasty deep Hotspur: Why so can I, or so can any man; But will they come when you do call them? Shakespeare, Henry IV, Part I

That exchange was one of John Kennedy's favorites. His instruments were sensitive to the bogus. He might find it very funny that the politicians of 1988 keep trying to summon spirits, notably his own, from the vasty deep of 1960

Rhetoric comparing 1988 with 1960 has a wistful, if cynical political purpose. It attempts to make a live political connection through the increasingly important American sacrament of memory. It wishes to mobilize nostalgia in order to give glamour and energy to a dismal, weightless campaign. It is politics as seance.

The real connections between the races of 1960 and 1988 are wispy to the point of mere coincidence. A youngish Democratic candidate from Massachusetts (Dukakis, at 54, is eleven years older than Kennedy was in 1960) with an older running mate, a Senator from Texas, campaigns against a sitting Vice President who for eight years served an aging, popular Republican father

They are surface similarities and no more. But they have a fascination as wishful symbols, and are an index of the powerful changes that have occurred in America and the world in the past 28 years. The real meaning of a comparison between the elections of 1960 and 1988 is the vast difference that separates them.

The elections of 1960 and 1988 are brackets enclosing a period of astonishing transformation-change that has placed the two campaigns in different eras. In 1960 the candidates for the first time debated on television, and politics began an almost metaphysical transformation: the external world was miraculously reconvened as powdered images upon America's internal screen. Electrons fetched out of the air poured the circus directly into the living room, into the bloodstream-just as they would inject Viet Nam into the center of American consciousness.

This year represents something close to a dismantling of the American presidential campaign. The candidates perform simulations of encounters with the real world, but the exercise in princinally a series of television visuals, of staged events created for TV cameras. The issues have become as weightless as clouds of electrons, and the candidates mere actors in commercials.

Karl Marx said that historical events and personalities enact themselves first as tragedy and then, in their repetition, as farce. Some of the imitations and reincarnations of J.F.K. have had traces of the farcical. In 1984 Gary Hart, during the primaries. slipped into a bizarre physical impersonation that had him descending the stairs of airplanes with just the gingerly J.F.K. inclination of bad back and his right hand tucked into his jacket pocket, the thumb protruding in the way that Kennedy's always did. The American voter began to think of Madame Tussaud's. or of Flyis impersonators

Dan Quayle, in his debate with Lloyd Bentsen, was heedless

enough to bring up Kennedy's name. Bentsen, who has good reflexes, saw the opening: "Senator, you're no Jack Kennedy." Michael Dukakis has been more dignified, but more relentless. about comparing himself with Kennedy, or at any rate comparing 1960 with 1988. Again and again, from the Democratic Convention on, he has told audiences. "Twenty-eight years ago, another son of Massachusetts and another son of Texas were our Dukakis wants to borrow a small radiance of nominees analogy. Ted Sorensen, the author of so many of Kennedy's speeches, including the Inaugural, is recycling the rhetoric for Dukakis. The Kennedy themes recur in Sorensen's Dukakis: "It's time to get the country moving again ...

In strange ways, 1960 is sacred in grainy national memory Americans feel a wistfulness about that election, if only because it was a moment when they and the world were younger. Was the race a classic encounter between two smart and well-matched athletes working the game in its last good moment? Maybe. The drama lingers in images of black and white as a moment of moral sunshine for Americans, or of remembered innocence. The candidates, youngish veterans, connected them to the days of their last good war. The election of 1960 was the end of America's postwar political order

and the beginning (starting 1.110 days later) of a long, tumbling historical free fall (assassinations, riots, Viet Nam. Watergate, oil embargoes, hostages in Iran, the economic rise of the Pacific Rim nations, on and onylasnost. China) that has created an utterly new world and left America searching for its place therein.

America used to be the New World. Now the world is the New World

What has happened in the world as a whole between 1960 and 1988, and especially during the '80s. is analogous to what occurred in the U.S. in the years after the Civil War, between, say, 1875 and 1900. The railroads spreading west, the telephone, mass manufacture, elevators, a thousand other new items of technol-

ogy-all transformed America, opened its markets and shortened its distances. The world today is becoming a global society, and a much smaller planet, because of satellites, computers, jet travel, the interpenetrations of world markets, and the fact that Communism has grown cold in its extremities.

The nation is no longer moated-economically, militarilyby the Atlantic and Pacific. As Viet Nam instructed, what America touches does not necessarily become sacred-an end of the Wilsonian illusion. America, which once cherished the conviction that God had endowed its national idea, began feeling lost in what might be called the Brownian motions of history-Brownian movement being the term for molecules that fly about with no discernible pattern or reason. The American pre-eminence in manufacturing is gone. A thousand hypodermic needles are punching through the nation's borders.

Many Americans have been retreating to the shrine of national memory. Never have so many anniversaries been observed, so many nostalgias set glowing, as if retrospection were now the only safe and reliable line of sight. You are, among other things, what you remember, or believe you remember. The past has become a persistent presence in the American mind

Ronald Reagan, a genius at this kind of thing, managed to recrystalize the national morale through his evocations of a sim-

nle and virtuous small-town America. He performed an optical illusion that was the equivalent of having Mickey Rooney, as Andy Hardy, standing tall in the saddle. That has been one trouble with Reaganistic good feeling a suspicion that it was based upon camera angle.

The evocations of the election of 1960 are a somewhat more youthful play upon the illusion, and more self-serving. Those candidates who have evoked the 1960 election were calling back not u time or place so much as a glamorous man-John Kennedy.

James Joyce had a lovely phrase in Finnegans Wake: "The hereweareagain gaieties." A Kennedy campaign always had the hereweareagain gaieties, that Irish quality of politics as frolic. overlaid with a unique elegance and a ruthlessness that advanced upon you with the brightest of teeth. No wonder that in the presidential campaign of 1988. Americans feel a nostalgia for the festive in their politics. American politics used to be fun. Once upon a time, lively, funny people practiced the art. In a priceless line about the 1988 race, Robert Strauss, former Democratic Party chairman and an accomplished humorist, said Dukakis reminded him of Cary Grant. Depressingly. Strauss was not trying to be funny.

In gloomy moments. one believes that some alchemy of television packaging and American decline in the world has ruined presidential politics and turned it into a dreary and cynical transaction. After eight years of a former actor in the White House, perhaps it is just as well that neither candidate this time behaves remotely like an entertainer. Who ever said that the President of the United States had to be charming?

The example of John Kennedy said so, and the message is implanted in the collective memory



NIXON IN EARLY OCTOBER

#### The election of 1960 was prologue to everything after

BUSH: INTO THE COUNTRY

Chet Atkins, on a stage in the bright sunshine of Jackson. Tenn.. is warming up the crowd. He stands with Pat Boone in front of the Old Country Store

in Casey Jones Village, named for the famous train engineer who lived there at the turn of the century. Atkins, the genius of American country guitar, is singing now: "Would Jesus wear a Rolex"

George Bush and Dan Quayle materialize on the stage in brilliant early fall sunshine. Great cheers, but little warmth for

Quayle, who walks on like an inexplicable mistake in the illusion. 'Read my lips!" cries Bush. "No ... new ... taxes!" Read my lips. George Bush is ever at odds with language, as if he does not regard it as a reliable vehicle of thought. At his worst moments on the stump, his surreal moments. Bush is a sort of amateur terrorist of language, like an eleven-year-old Shi'ite picking up a Kalashnikov assault rifle for the first time and firing off words in wild bursts, blowing out the lamps, sending the relatives diving through the windows. Bush is mostly oblivious to the nuances of language. as if some moral or cultural dyslexia were knotting up the thought (which may explain why he keeps using oafishly wrong expressions like "read my lips" and "kick a little ass"). He seems to regard words as dangerous, potentially treacherous. Odd: it is a tenet of conservative intellectuals that "ideas have consequences." Bush sometimes sounds as if he regards ideas, and words, as an inconvenience and an irritation-perverse, buzzing little demons that need to be brushed away periodically like flies.

Sometimes Bush's speech has a chameleon quality. One day during a tour through central Illium's farmland, Bush and his wife Barbara rode in a bas with the country singers Loretta Lynn, Crystal Gayle and Peggs Was, all sisters. At a step in the town of Wenona. Bush told the crowd that the three sisters had been giving a country concert in the bus, and "I though! I'd died been giving a country concert in the bus, and bush to the bus, and it may be the bush of the bush of

No, he is not George Bush is a man who seems to be searching for the country. He sometimes seems to have misplaced America, and to be intently seeking it, trying out different accents, different styles of thought, as if seeking his own authenticity. Or perhaps fleeing it. Bush used to be a moderate Republican. Now, inheriting the Reagan legacy. he is constrained to run as a right-winger. He trumpets right-wing "values"-and panders unapologetically to the Know-Nothing instincts in the crowd, but one listens to him always with a smudge of doubt-Does he really believe that?

Bush went from patrician Connecticut to the Texas oil fields as a young man; he has gone from moderate Republican to right-wing Republican. from one identity to another. from one appointive office to another, and these transitions seem at last to add up to a sense of permanent motion and quest, of search for something that is finally his own. It is possible, of course, that after so many years, he is closing in upon that something right now, and will discover both America and himself in the most spectacular way.



In the 1988 campaign, one does not see anything like the passion

#### DUKAKIS: FORCE OF GRAVITY

Bush is a puzzling man. Dukakis, in an equally troubling way, seems an unpuzzling man. Study the way that the two men walk. If the candidates would not disclose themselves in other ways, they would surely express a little of themselves thus.

Dukakis trudges. He is a compact and gravid man, like a wrestler, with feet apart and stance wary, as if afraid of being knocked down. He is a man careful beyond the ordinary standards of prudence. He holds the railing tightly as he descends the stairs from an airchaper.

Dukakis' vectors point downward, as if gravity were pressing on him especially hard. Even the words that leave his lips seem to have weights on them. When he says, as he often does in a speech. "My friends." the expression carries a curious gravamen of reproof or irony—but no warmth. His speeches, however, have much of his body's compactness and concision and a certain driving force about them.

One fresh morning on a farm in Idalou, in the flatlands of

West Texas, with an ashy-silver half-plate moon in the blue sky, the rally crowd was being warmed up by Texas agriculture commissioner Jim Hightower, a charismatic populist with a talent for comic fulmination. Dan Quayle, said Hightower, is so dumb he "thinks Cherios are doughnut seeds." And. "If ignorance ever goes to \$40 a barrel, I want the drilling rights on George Bush's head."

Dukakis, with his weighty, even slightly oppressive air of self-possession and the small eyes that give his large head a somehow sealed look, like a tank turret even without his famous tank, applauded in an odd slow motion and dipped his left shoul-

der and gave a slow-motion thumbs-up sign, as if to say, "Way to go. Big Guyl" Then he came forward and started to tell the crowd about John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, and about hom "we can do better" and how 1960 has roiled round again. History, say Dukakis, repeats itself. And at least some of the crowd wanted to bring Hightower back for an encore.

#### THE PRIMAL IMPRINT OF DALLAS

George Bush's vectors fly upward, as if he were about to launch himself. His rangy walk would be a John Wayne saunter. except that he goes on his toes with a springy stride, with profile high and prowing the wind. It is his father's walk, the darksuited, dignified swagger that one saw in the early 1950s when Prescott Bush of Connecticut crossed the Senate floor. On a dazzling day, the blue sky washed cloudless, George Bush performed such a swagger at the Columbus airport

An American scene: the candidate came down the from steps of his plane and walked across an agoraphobia of tarmac to a crowd of red-white-and-blue flag-waving, sign-pumping Republicans gathered behind

the roge to cheer. In the Kodachrome sunshine, one saw the sharpshorets on the airport roof and the shiny black Secret Service van with black tinted windows, an agenistanding on the tailgate with his hand inside able ken ylon bag that concealed his automatic weapon. The sunshine itself became sinister and a child of premotition crossed the mind—the dank American underdream—and in a small spasm of panic one frisked the faces in the crowd, looking for the wrong one. The sudden foreboding had a specific primal antecedent in time and place and noon made upon the American mind on Nov. 22, 1884, i. politics, and the one boards the Dukakis plane in San Francisco. a frisky German shephered pokes around the luggage, sentifine for high explosives.

#### THE RISE OF TELEVISION

The sociologist of religion Emile Durkheim once said that the contrast between the sacred and the profane is the widest and deepest of all contrasts that the human mind can make. In retrospect, in the churchier precincts of the memory, the election of

#### Nation

1960 has, for some, a numinous glow. The election was the prologue to everything that happened after. It was the American politics before the fall. Its protagonists went on to their high, dramatic fates. Perhaps part of the magic of that race is that we know the tale to its dramatic completion.

One man who helped transform that election campaign into instantaneous myth was Theodore II, White. The Making of the President 1960 was the first of a series of five he wrote. White's description of the 1960 race, as no reads it now, seems an endearing period piece. One cannot conswire the form the above the control of the control of

absolute centrality of the presidential race in the drama of the world. It was then a Ptolemaic universe, revolving around the White House. What higher story to tell? Americans did not then lose wars. Presidents did not get assassinated, or lie, or have to barricade themselves in the White

Heraclitus said a man cannot stand in the same river twice, the flow of things being what it is 1960 and 1988 are not only different rivers, they run in different courses altogether. It is startling to remember now that Kennedy's Catholicism was the single greatest issue of the campuign and aimost unhorsed him in a race he won by less than 120,000 votes, It is a trivia question to ask which

two islands off the coast of mainland Chinn received inordinate attention during the second and third felevision debates between Kennedy and Nixon (Quenny and Matsu). Both candidates dediciated to strong national defense. The Soviet Union and the Cold War and the nuclear threat dominated everyone's horizon, with ansieties rising over the U-2 spy plane that the Soviets shot down on May 1, 1960, and the Soviets functioning of Sputnik 1 three years earlier. The rocket that took the satellite aloft punched a hole through American self-confidence and made education a centrul issue.

In the television debates, the camera was endlessly kind to Kennedy, whose charm passed through the lens and directly into the American consciousness. Nixon fared badly on the camera to eagerated the depth of his eye sockets, picked up the sawest on his upper lip and the shadow of his heavy whisters. Kennedy had the video sense to address the camera, and the American people, while Nixon addressed himself to Kennedy, as a prevideo debater would. Some had thought the 43-year-old Democrata depthless rich-boy dreamboat who missed too many vision this getting, his PT boat sawed in half by a Japanese destroyer. But the first debate established him in the public mind as at least the equal of the vost-error Vice President. The professionalism of the media handlers in 1988 in rates the political process infinitely less than the emotional macy of the 1960 campaign. For all its spooks powers, televarely achieves any ignitions of the personal in a campaign. er in the 1988 campaign does one see anything like the passion that was displayed, for both candidates, during Kennedy had his "jumpers"—females who forested the govery day and most of the night, ten or 15 days at a time will alway and most of the night, ten or 15 days at a time will be a support of the control of the contro

the largest possible crowds.

Herb Klein, Nixon's press secretary then, says, "We'd into a city concentrating on a downtown noon rally. Pierres ger [Kennedy's press secretary] and I would compete to go biggest crowd estimate out of the local police chief. The bi

difference between the campaigns is that the didates now are not posed to the public the they used to be."

As Arthur Schles Jr. remarks. "Telev has replaced the pol party." It controls as and voter turnout a polls, two key tradit functions of the part the election of 1880. It third parties were so at motivating, voters 80% of them voted, de two weak candida Garfield and Hanc and no strong issues.

PHOTO OPS. 1988 Michael Dukakis' paign caravan, like a sinuous dragon, all fla lights, police outri limo, station wagons, S Service, staff, two bus



#### The protagonists went on to their high, dramatic fates

the press, sweeps through Sacramento at 8 in the morning traffic halted at intersections by leapfrogging police cars astonishing precision. Not an instant's impedance in the ar of democracy. The campaign dazzles by to its event and o to rest at a glistening green public park in the most splene California mornings. A soccer field, roped off. Twenty small boys in their soccer uniforms, their parents and frien the sidelines. The candidate appears, wearing khakis, red neck sweater and jogging shoes. He saunters in his frei way across the grass toward the boys, and then, without t tion, starts idly toeing a soccer ball toward them, again in curious slow-motion way he has, his body doing not the act but the slo-mo replay. The photographers click away. Dul one thinks, may have made a mistake-in his outfit, will large head, he looks like Charlie Brown, and something almost rueful body English suggests that Lucy is about to s the ball away again just as he kicks. Unfair: a reporter ren This is part of Dukakis' relentless search for a constitu shorter than himself." In a few moments it is over. The kic in little voices: "Two, four, six, eight, who do we appre Dukakis. Dukakis, yay!" He gives a minichat of greeting. lutely nothing has happened. The caravan sweeps away. morning, the newspapers carry a picture, sure en



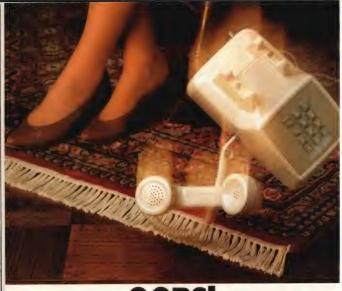
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#### Nation

of Michael Dukakis toeing a soccer ball toward a child. Or George Bush's long procession of buses pulling off

Route 51 in central Illinois one afternoon at 3:30 and sweeping up to the Del Monte canning factory. The press corps (numbering some 120 now) dutifully takes its place not far from enormous piles of corn that are being dumped onto the vast concrete acreage, then pushed by special dozers toward the trench that will catch the corn on conveyer belts and carry it with a kind of clanking Modern Times idiot ingenuity up a ramp to be mechanically husked and then borne inside the maw of the factory to its fate. So much corn has an unexpected rich barnyard kind of smell, a cloving excess of smell. Bush appears with his two oldest grandchildren, walks toward a monster mound of corn and, as photographers record the event, he acts like a man waiting for a train on a platform.

Loretta Lynn and Crystal Gayle and Peggy Sue appear. dressed in tall spike heels. skintight pedal pushers and Bush T shirts. On the other side of the factory, for the thousandth time that day, the sisters introduce Bush by singing Coal Miner's Daughter. Amazing Grace. The Man from Galilee, and I Saw the Light. The crowds all day. surprised to find someone really famous among them. give the singers squeals of delight and that suddenly sharp liveliness of the eyes, the predatory gladness, that announces recognition of a ce-

#### lebrity. Loretta Lynn! INVENTING THE MORAL ITINERARY

The novelist John Gardner once wrote a version of Beowulf that was told from Grendel's point of view. There is a scene in which a wandering bard arrives among the drunken cretins and begins to sing beautiful songs to them about what they have accomplished that day in battle Atrocity becomes glory, bloodletting becomes heroic. It is a shrewd point about mythmaking, and

perhaps about the making of the myth of Camelot.

But there is, more and more, a countervailing mood of anti-myth that may also be one of the insoluble dilemmas of American politics. What able man or woman is willing to submit to the inquisitions of the press into private lives, into any previous lives they might have led? Would John Kennedy have survived in the politics of 1960 if his extracurricular adventures had been investigated?

White's book about 1960 in in some ways a hymn and a poem not only to American democracy but to the American landscape and American people, to their varieties and resonances. White's writing then strikes a heroic note that sounds odd to the American ear now. But perhaps a sense of eloquence and size has passed out of history's favor

A presidential campaign is still a fascinating trajectory, over time and vast landscape. In the very American way, it is a moral itinerary, an idea proceeding across both biographies

Now the candidate's chartered plane fires back across the continent against the direction of old westering tracks 30,000 ft below. Inside the plane, the clerisy of "spin," that is, the priesthood of partisans sent around to see reporters after major campaign events and impart the right spin, have done their work up and down the aisles, like Polonius and Hamlet discussing the shapes of clouds. The candidate is dozing up front. The jackals of the press have settled into their routines of mild carousal.

The jackals haven't the barnacled, bad-liver look of some who covered the 1960 campaign. They don't, like Teddy White. smoke unfiltered cigarettes, or filtered either. They play poker sometimes, or blackjack, and one throwback even asks for a Jack Daniels A group clusters around the seats behind and plays a game of Jeopardy on a laptop computer-in answer to which the

candidate's press staff, quite justly, chants in rallentando: "Boring, boring, BORING!" The journalists all have toys White never imagined-cellular telephones, laptops, tiny portable television sets, all the magic paraphernalia connecting them to the New World that America has entered.

Still, it is the old America too. The plane drops into cold drizzle at Green Bay, Wis., and there a crowd awaits that would have been no different from the people Kennedy or Nixon might have dropped out of the same sky to try to win. The band, a little forlorn in the night, is drums, electronic keyboard piano and electric guitar, and it sounds like a Milwaukee roadhouse on a Saturday night It plays Happy Days Are Here Again. The scene is fervent and lonely.

Then the plane vacuums up the particles again and again sails east. American landscapes are so resonantthe sere wrinklings of Nevada mountains that hold the topaz lake, the Badlands, the great agricultural geometries of the Midwest, the stretch of Geor-

gia that Sherman blackened. We fly now steady east, against the time zones, into darkness. At last Boston, below, slides toward us like Christmas, strings of



ON THE PLANT SALLING OVER AMERICA

#### The hereweareagain gaieties, ruthlessness with bright teeth

night. KENNEDY AND NIXON: HOW THEY WALKED

Nixon had a fascinating walk. If you put a carpenter's level on his head, the bubble would stay steady as he went along. The action was mostly in his knees, a sort of Bob Hope sidle. Not an athlete's walk and not one powered by an athlete's muscles. The captain on the bridge did not want to know much about engine room and propellers Smooth

light on velvet. How festive American cities look from the air at

Kennedy was a coordinated man, and he had a bit of dance in his walk, an athlete's sureness. But who knows? That is part of memory, of the old kinescope that has passed into the sacred. Nineteen eighty-eight makes its way, as it must, in the medium of the present, the decidedly profane. Reported by Sam Allis/Boston

## ONE MINUTE MANAGERS NEED TEN SECOND MEMOS.



When People Count On You, Count On Post-it Notes.



## Why Mrs. Reagan Still Looks Like a Million

Despite her promises, the First Lady continues to borrow designer dresses. None of them have been reported as required

N ancy Reagan's fondness for designer conture that she once contended was beyond her ability to buy has not abated Mrs. Reagan has been borrowing; costly dresses, matched outfits and jewelry from leading fashion houses on both coasts on at lavish scale. This despite her public promise in February 1962, that she would stop her better than the state of the

Any expensive clothing given as a gift to Mrs. Reagan must be listed on annual financial disclosure forms required of federal officials under the 1978 Ethics in Government Act President Reagan would be required to list any such gifts to his wife. Their value may also have to be reported on federal income tax returns. Furthermore. White House lawyers agreed in 1982 that any of the First Lady's dresses that she considered loans, not gifts, would be reported annually under the ethics law. Neither the disclosure forms nor the Reagan tax returns for the years 1982 through 1987 list loans or gifts of dresses to Mrs. Reagan.

If she had paid for all the finery, the First Lady would, of course, have no need to report her purchases. Elaine Crispen. Mrs. Reagan's press secretary, said last week that the First Lady told her she has bought all the clothes she has worn since early 1982. Mrs. Reagan also told Crispen that since then she has not borrowed or been given any dresses.

Some designers, however, have a different recollection. While agreeing that Mrs. Reagan has purchased many items. they say she has definitely borrowed others and has not returned all of them. Los Angeles designer David Hayes said Mrs. Reagan has borrowed 60 to 80 expensive. made-to-order outfits from him in the past eight years. "We think of it as loans." he says. "It's wonderful. She has been a sensation for my business." Haves said the First Lady has returned more than half of the borrowed items but has kept the others. "Once something is worn." he said, its value is "nothing" Mrs Reagan said Hayes, is "never greedy. She only takes what she can use

Two sources close to the fashion firm of James Galanos also say Mrs. Rengan has continued to borrow dresses. "If it's something she needs to borrow, she does borrow, but otherwise she buys," saul Pat. Jones, an assistant to Galanos, Chris Blazakis, who worked closely with Galanos and the same should be supported to t

did not pay for dresses and that the only time she returned one was when she wanted it repaired Blazakis, who left the Galanos firm on friendly terms, has done extensive research for a critical book he is writing about the Reagans, including the First Lady's clothesborrowing practices

In November 1988 Blazakis said, Galanos asked the First Lady to select one of two fur jackets to go with the second Inaural goven he was designing for her. One was a \$10.500 white mink, the other a \$35,000 Russian sable. According to Blazakis. Nancy had wanted to keep both Galanos persuaded her that the American mink would be more appropriate and did not give her the sable. Mrs. Reagan, however, did not wear the mink to the Inauguant Crispen last week said that Mrs. Reagan recuils borrowing the jacket and the sable mrs. Reagan recuils borrowing the jacket and the mrs. The

An executive at Manhattan's Harry Winston jeweles confirms that Mrs. Reagan has continued to borrow expensive accessives, even though there had been some White House embarrassment in 1981 at discleures that Winston had given her a diamond mecklace and diagine her a diamond energing for the first Inaugural Ball. At retail. Alte combination would be worth about \$490,000 - 74 times Mrs. Reagan has borrowed items. this source says "She has worn on other occasions—but not in America—a pair of diamond earings that are \$500,000 with ten-carat range that are \$500,000 with ten-carat

Ronald Winston, son of the founder, last week did not deny these borrowings but insisted that there was "no ongoing program" of loans to Mrs. Reagan. Crispen also said there was "no ongoing program" of jewelry loans. contending that 1981 was the last occasion of such a loan to Mrs. Reagan.

If Mrs. Reagan has purchased all the designer clothes she has worn in the past seven years, that would be not only a considerable expense but a departure from her previous habits. "I can't afford a \$5,000 dress." she joked to the Los Angeles Times in 1980 after her expensive tastes were noticed. "I don't know anyone who can." That was a bit of hyperbole. Moreover, the President's current salary of \$200,000 a year could cover the cost of many made-toorder outfits

After moving into the White House. Mrs. Reagan converted Amy Carter's bedroom into a spacious walk-in closet to house her extensive wardrote, according to one former White House official. This source says the room, roughly 10 ft by 15 ft, has held hundreds in dresses in built-in cabinets along all four walls. Each dress is allabeled with the occasions on which it was worn, apparently so Mrs. Reagan can avoid displaying it again in front of the same audience.



estimated price

Blazakis has identified more than 300 photographs taken since 1982 showing Mrs. Reagan wearing outfits by such couriers as Galanos. Hayes. Bill Blass and Adolfo. He has estimated prices for each outfit. A buyer for a leading department store independently verified the Blazakis estimates on a representative sample of 80 of these photographs. The two fishion experts placed a retail value on each expert placed as the property flaced a retail value on each expert placed as the property placed a retail value on each expert placed as the property placed as the property placed as the property placed as the property placed to the placed t

\$1.047.900 and \$1,392,900.

Blass and Adolfo would not comment on their arrangements with Mrs. Reagan. Beyond Crispen's statements. White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater refused any further comment on the matter.

The public fias over the First Lady's Innery started in November 1981 after she voluntarily informed the White House staff that she had been accepting clothes as gifts. including a \$25,000 Galanos creation that she wore to the 1981 Inauguration. She asked whether this event on the work of the work of the work of the staff of the she would be shown that the could accept clothes as loans but would have to disclose them.

Mrs. Reagan announced

on Jan. 14, 1982. The Mexican inflorations of the dresses accepted in 1981 as beams. Beyond that, she would select the best and give them to 13 maximum for promoting of the selected museums, the number of the selected museums, the last such donation when 1982. In February of that year she said she had told all the favorior designers that and told all the favorior designers that when would no longer accept any dresses on many the selected museums, the lady does not appear to the selected museum the selected museum for the selecte

#### Grapevine

#### STRANGE MUSIC IN MY EARS.

Campaign music was once comfortably dull: Happy Days Are Here Again for the Democrats. Battle Hymn of the Republic for the G.O.P. But now both camps are choosing thoroughly modern mood music, sometimes with old results. Michael Dukakis performs mainly to Neil Diamond's America. an immigrants' anthem. But on the day after the Bentsen-Quayle debate, he used

Creedence Clearwater Revivals Fortunate Son i'l ain't no millionaire's son ..." Mysteriously, Michael Jackon), Man in the Mirror, a song about change beginning with the individual, boomed out to a Dukakis rally in Peora, it oc exactly a hothed of Michael Jacksonians. George Bush's not exactly a hothed of Michael Jacksonians. George Bush's campaign plane theme is Don'i Worr, Ber Happy, the No. 1 tune whose title—if not its satirical lyrics—captures the Bush spirit. Turns out, though, that composer Bobby Merit in its astaunch Dukakis supporter who wants Bush to stop playing his song.

DO I KNOW YOU? No doubt remembering the 1984 assault on Walter Mondale as a captive of "special interests," nota-



The Duke bops to Neil Diamond and Michael Jackson

bly organized labor. Dukakis has gone to the opposite extreme. One prominent AFL-CIO union presidents sugath an appointment with the nominee to tell him in person that the union had set aside \$100.000 to use in the Democratic campaign. After a run-around, aides told the labor leading the superior of the democratic campaign. After a run-around, aides told the labor leading the superior of the way willing to fly from Washington to California Another union insider contact and

other union insider contacted Timothy Barnicle. Dukakis' liaison with Congress, to volunteer calling 150 Congressmen and 40 Senators to push them into taking more active roles in the Dukakis campaign That was in August: he still has not received a reply. Dukakis' aides, savs the unionis bitterly, 'think they know it all.'

HOW DEEKY CAN YOU GET? Dan Quayle, who was a member of the Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity, was named after James Danforth. a Deke killed in World War II who had been a pledge brother of Quayle's father Quayle's maternal grandfather was a Deke, as was George Bush. It could be an electoral plus; there are 2,000 active members of DKL in the US. Ioday, and 40,000 alumni members.



LUCKIEST The two strongest Democrats withdrew, but foe No. 3 will be no pushover for Florida's Mack



MOST UNABASHED SPENDER Wisconsin's Kohl turned on his critics, arguing that by spending his own millions, he made sure he was not selfing out to the special interests



MOST RIDICULED Voted "least effective" Senator, Nevada's Hecht opposed a nuclear waste "suppository" for his state

## The Big Senate Battlegrounds

Despite Bush's lead, it's looking good for the Democrats

#### BY HAYS GOREY



Democrats now hold an eight-seat majority in the Senate, and unless there is a big Republican sweep in November, they should maintain control. There are 33 seats at stake, 18 Democratic and 15 Republican, TIME's

CALIFORNIA. The seat occupied by Republican Pete Wilson is hardly warm: not since 1952 has its occupant been reelected. To extend that tradition. Democratic Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy has been husbanding his cash for a final blitz to rescue his ailing campaign. Wilson is vulnerable for being wishywashy; he withheld endorsement of the Reagan-Gorbachev INF treaty even longer than Senate Republican leader Bob

CONNECTICUT, Opposing his own political party most of the time makes renegade Republican Lowell Weicker a pest to the party pros. But he is their pest. His fabled contrariness the waged a one-man battle against the party's antiabortion plank) attracts Democrats and independents. This makes it hard for state attorney general Joseph Lieberman, the appealing Democratic nominee, who can't go after Weicker's voting record hard because it is too similar to what his own would be

FLORIDA. He doesn't use his real name, Cornelius McGillicuddy, but then

neither did his grandfather, baseball immortal Connie Mack. But by whatever name, Congressman Connie Mack III has come up lucky in the battle for the seat of Democrat Lawton Chiles. First Chiles withdrew after announcing for re-election. Then the toughest Democrat, former Governor Reubin Askew, also bowed out. Finally. Congressman Buddy MacKay won the Democratic nomination with only a month left to zero in on the far-tothe-right Mack

MINNESOTA. Democrat Hubert Humphrey III cried out to voters to stop comparing him with his beloved late father and start weighing him against his opponent. Senator Dave Durenberger. They have, and it may be helping. "Skip" Humphrey, the state's attorney general, has been slinging dirt at Durenberger on character issues. But Durenberger's senatorial bearing and flawless environmental record have given him a lead. If Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party is of a mind to, it could still rescue Humphrey

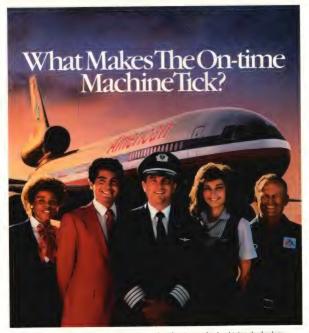
MISSISSIPPI. Republican Trent Lott has been the heir presumptive to John Stennis' seat ever since the venerable Democrat lost a leg to cancer in 1984. The only question was when. Now that Stennis has retired, there are new questions. Democratic Congressman Wayne Dowdy is backed by the popular Stennis. But Dowdy, who enjoys strong support from blacks (one-third of the voting population), must cut into the white vote to win.

NEBRASKA. Even Republicans asked "Why?" when businessman David Karnes was appointed last year to fill a vacant Senate seat. Expectably, Karnes was challenged in the G.O.P. primary this year; unexpectedly, he won. But since advocating "fewer farmers" during a debate. he seems to have lost momentum. He is likely to be beaten by Bob Kerrey, a former Governor, former Debra Winger boyfriend and Viet Nam veteran.

NEW JERSEY. "Have we got a candidate!" Republicans chortled, when Pete Dawkins decided to challenge colorless Frank Lautenberg. A Rhodes scholar. Heisman trophy winner and once the youngest general in the Army, the squeaky-clean Dawkins seemed too good to be true. Apparently he is. Pilloried as a carpetbagger after moving from New York, Dawkins stoked the fire by declaring he could not stand the boredom of living in a small town, one of many missteps in an inept campaign. Lautenberg is now

NEVADA. The press secretary to Nevada Republican Senator Chic Hecht recently observed that his boss is ignored by Senate colleagues except for the times when they are ridiculing him for his syntax-mangling style. With a billing like that from his own publicist. Hecht obviously has problems in his race against Democratic Governor Richard Bryan.

OHIO. Howard Metzenbaum, a gadfly who brays through one of the loudest trumpets in national politics, is portrayed as "too liberal" by Cleveland mayor George Voinovich. But blooper-prone Voinovich's attempt to link Metzenbaum



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FIRST CHINESE AMERICAN Nicknamed "Landslide Woo" after winning his Delaware primary by a 71-vote margin on a recount



TOO GOOD TO BE TRUE Dawkins excelled in the classroom, on the gridiron, in the Army and on Wall Street, but looks like a carpetbagger in New Jersey and has often bumbled



**LEAST PARTISAN** Pennsylvania's Heinz wins support of Democrats without damaging his Republican base

ing the G.O.P. Convention. Voinovich described himself as the leading candidate for next year's gubernatorial race, seeming to concede the Senate contest. He might as well

RHODE ISLAND. Consistently one of the most Democratic states. Rhode Island nevertheless has a soft spot for stately Republican John Chafee, Lieutenant Governor Richard Licht is waging a vigorous challenge, but Chafee, a former Governor, is an elusive target

WASHINGTON. Defeated in his reelection bid two years ago. Republican Slade Gorton believed his political career

to kiddie porn unleashed a backlash. Dur- | was over. Reincarnation took place when Republican Dan Evans decided to retire. Ousted because he paid little attention to constituents and traded his vote on a controversial judicial nomination. Gorton this year has been conducting "listening tours" of the state. His chances benefited from an expensive primary battle won by Democratic Representative Mike Lowry, who was promptly hospitalized with a

bleeding ulcer WISCONSIN. Democrat William Proxmire used to pay the \$145 filing fee, and that constituted his total campaign expenditure. This year it cost supermarket magnate Herbert Kohl \$3 million of his own money just

to succeed the retiring Proxmire as the Democratic nominee. Kohl, owner of the Milwaukee Bucks basketball team, makes a virtue of his wealth: "a Senator just for you." He will face the only woman nominated for a Senate seat this year, Susan Engeleiter, a moderate who is Republican leader of the

WYOMING. A humorless ideologue who has criticized even Reagan for insufficient dedication to weapons systems. Malcolm Wallop has come under fire for not tending to the grass roots. Though he is not wildly popular, he remains a slight favorite over his Democratic challenger. state senator John Vinich.

#### DEMOCRATS

ARIZONA Dennis DeConcini's fight against Robert Bork hasn't hurt him in his conservative state.

HAWAII The case against Spark Matsunaga is that he is "too liberal" and "too lazy." No matter.

MAINE Popular George Mitchell is concentrating on the race to succeed retiring majority leader Robert Byrd.

MARYLAND Alan Keyes, one of two black Republicans nominated for the Senate, will lose to Paul Sarbanes.

MASSACHUSETTS They still love Ted Kennedy.

MICHIGAN Although Donald Riegle has been accused of financial conflicts, he suits Michigan voters fine.

MONTANA Garrulous John Melcher is a prime G.O.P. target. But Conrad Burns, 53, doesn't excite voters.

#### THE SAFE SEATS NEW MEXICO Jeff Bingaman, a firstterm Democrat, should win handily.

NEW YORK Republicans suffered a recruitment failure in their halfhearted effort to challenge Daniel Patrick

Moynihan.

NORTH DAKOTA Old (80) and recovering from surgery, Quentin Burdick is still powerful

TENNESSEE Jim Sasser's opponent has resorted to comparing Sasser's voting record to Ted Kennedy's. It hasn't worked.

TEXAS Lloyd Bentsen is a cinch to defend his Senate seat.

VIRGINIA Former Governor Charles Robb is a lock

WEST VIRGINIA Robert Byrd, 70, will step aside as majority leader but have no trouble retaining his seat.

#### REPUBLICANS

**DELAWARE** Maverick Republican William Roth seems a shoo-in over Lieutenant Governor S.B. Woo.

INDIANA The state's most popular Republican Senator is not Dan Quayle. It's the wise and wry Richard Lugar.

MISSOURI John Danforth, a Senate moderate, should crush Democrat Jay Nixon.

PENNSYLVANIA John Heinz, of the ketchup family, has been called "the best Senator"- and that was by a Democrat.

UTAH Orrin Hatch won in 1976, defeating incumbent Frank Moss. This year he faces Moss' son Brian. Same names, same results.

**VERMONT** James Jeffords should find running for the Senate little different from his seven successful House campaigns.





#### The Homeless: Brick by Brick

By Jacob V. Lamar



It is a political problem with a painfully human face. Unlike the arcane theories of Star Wars or the complex calculations of the budget deficit, homelessness is no abstraction. The homeless confront urban dwellers every day: sleeping on sidewalks and park benches, begging pedestrians for loose change, huddling in doorways for shelter or meandering the streets muttering to themselves. In cities that have flourished during the Reagan years, there are more homeless today than at any time since the Great Depression

On any given night, an estimated 735,000 people in the U.S. are homeless. As many as 2 million may be without shelter for one night or more during the year. A deplorable situation that began with deinstitutionalized mental patients' living in the streets has grown to include the working poor and whole families. Nearly a quarter of the homeless have jobs; more than a third are families with children. "The growing phenomenon of homeless children." says a report from the National Academy of Sciences. "is nothing short of a national disgrace.

If the condition of the homeless is appalling, solutions can seem hopelessly complex. Offering the medical treatment necessary for a derelict alcoholic is different from providing job training and education for a welfare mother, counseling for a teenage runaway or more income for a worker trying to secure an apartment. Yet no matter what their other difficulties, the homeless share a simple problem: they need a place to live. The best response to homelessness is to build more housing. This wealthy nation should start with a basic policy: no American should have to sleep on the street

But the Reagan Administration has had no effective housing policy for most of its eight years in power. Samuel Pierce, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, is the only remaining member of Ronald Reagan's original Cabinet, yet he has been the ence. Tenements that housed the disadvantaged have been razed or renovated to make way for pricey apartments and high-rise office buildings. According to a 1986 congressional report, in the past decade the nation has lost half its single-room-occupancy hotels, long the housing of last resort for the poor. In New York City, tax-abatement policies of the early 1980s encouraged private developers to turn SRO buildings into luxury condominiums. The number of New York apartments renting for \$300 a month or less dropped from 1.7 million in 1978 to 409,459 last year.

No matter who the next President is, the homeless crisis is likely to get worse. An additional 200,000 units of low-income housing could disappear over the next five years as loans expire from a tax-break program of the 1960s and '70s. The Federal Government had encouraged private developers to build low-income housing by offering to subsidize 40-year mortgages on the buildings. Now many owners are taking advantage of an option to pay off the mortgages after 20 years, freeing them to sell or rent the apartments at the prevailing market price. The result could be hundreds of thousands more people in shelters

The Reagan Administration's approach to housing was another version of the supply-side experiment: instead of subsidizing low-cost construction, as Washington had done since the 1930s, the Reaganites decided to subsidize tenants. Give cash vouchers directly to the poor to help them pay their rent, went the theory, and the market would respond by supplying more housing. Vouchers have had some success in the Southwest, where prices are depressed and vacancy rates relatively high. But in much of the country, as housing prices have increased by 43% in the past eight years, voucher recipients have been unable to find apartments with affordable rents that also meet federal quality standards. In New York City, where rent control, high taxes and land prices discourage the construction of modestly priced hous-

ing, three out of four vouchers were returned to the Government last year after futile apartment searches by the recipients.



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## MERCURY

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year lital homelessness was an "unprecedented crisis." When the President signed the McKinney Homeless Assistance Act, a compendium of programs covering everything from job training to food assistance. The act authorized the spending of \$1 billion over two years, but attorneys for the homeless had to see the Government to get the funds moving out of a clogaged federal pipeline. The \$500 million in first-year funds, haphrazurdy distributed in hundreds of U.S. cities, so for has done fulled the targotte good. Last February. Reagan cases so for has done fulled the good that find the programs of the state of the

On the campaign trail. Vice President George Bush's response to the housing crisis has been to ignore it. In answer to a question at the first presidential debate. Bush called for full funding of the McKinney Act and involvement of private benevolent organizations—the "1,000 points of light"—in communities that aid the homeless. Michael Dukaks has endorsed the recommendations of the National Housing Task Force and is committed to spending \$51 billion of federal money to build homes, mostly for

low-income people.

With the Federal Government straining under a Sz. trillion debt. it is obviously unrealistic to expect that low-cost housing funds will be restored to pre-Reagan levels. But any serious program to stem homelessness is going to require money. The National Coalition for the Homeless estimates that it would cost \$\$^4\$ billion to build 280.000 additional units of housing over the next two years.

What Washington must do is make sure that available money is carefully targeted and intelligently spent. Local governments have already taken the lead in offering low-interest founs or the weeking to offering low-interest founs or the weeking providing loans to developers and casing building codes. San Diego has spurred to creation of five new SRO hotels, where tenants pay from \$230 to \$390 a most load to 18 New York City last week, local offilial New York City last week, local offilial was the control of the c

citis joined with a community-development group to finance the construction of 1,000 apartments for low-income families: \$25 construction of 1,000 apartments for low-income families: \$25 construction of the \$80 million cost was raised from corporations, which can write of their contributions as a federal tax credit. An additional \$25 million has been raised through the tax-credit additional \$25 million has been raised through the tax-credit reform bill—for low-income housing in Los Angeles, Kansas City, \$an Francisco and about a dozno other cities.

There are other reasonable options the next President should consider, steps that transcend the rhetoric that either candidate has offered so far.

Rehabilitate eld units. Though public housing is routinely comdemed as a failure, there are 800,000 applicants not the waiting lists to get into it. Public-housing developments like St. Louis Cochran Gardens and the Montgomery County, Md., program demonstrate that well-maintained, well-managed projects can be successes and not eyesores or breeding grounds for crime. Yet about 70,000 of the country's 1.3 million units are vacant. uninhabitable while awaiting repair or coupled by squatters. The Comprehensive Improvement Assistance Program, which provides funds for the maintenance and rehabilitation of publichousing projects, was cut from \$2.5 billion in 1983 to \$1.6 billion last year. Surely it is cheaper, as well as more humane, to reno-

vate available apartments than to dump families into welfare hotels.

In private-housing stock, some of the most ambitious renovation is being performed—again—by community-development corporations, which obtain funds from local governments, mancail institutions and religious organizations. In Chicago, Bethel New Life, a Lutheran Church group, has refurbished 32 lomes, built a day-care center and saved a crumbling school building. Congressman Joseph Kennedy II of Massachusetts has proposed a bill that would provide \$500 million to help nonprofit community groups purchase and rehabilitate low-income housing.

Use foreclosed housing, HUD owns 47,000 properties seized for mortgage defaults. Traditionally, these repossessed buildings have been sold at auction to the highest bidder. The Government ought to start seriously complying with 1987 housing legislation that calls for underused property to be turned over to the home-less, by donating or selling buildings at low prices to housing advocce versions.

Create more community-based health clinics. The homeless crisis began when overcrowded mental hospitals started to release pa-

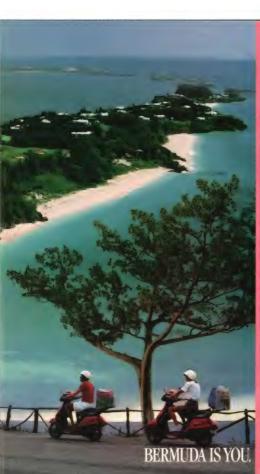
tients who were not considered dangerous to themselves or others. The number of mental patients in U.S. institutions dropped from a peak of 560,000 to 143,000 today, and an estimated 30% to 40% of the homeless are mentally impaired. The release program was intended to lead to more small facilities, where the poor could receive affordable outpatient care. Yet 70% of the \$6 billion spent each year on state-run mental health programs still goes to institutions. A greater proportion must go to promoting neighborhood clinics and group homes. What is more. the operators of these clinics must reach out aggressively to get people off the streets, especially in cold weather. They must trek to the parks, bus depots and other places where the homeless congregate to persuade them of the need for health care.

The Government ought to start complying with 1987 legislation that calls for underused property to be turned over to the homeless

Once more, Washington does not have to bear this burden by uself. The National Academy of Sciences report cites the Zacchaeus Medical Clinic in Washington as a superb example of an inner-city health center that has been funded exclusively by church and community groups and individual donors.

Rates the noisemen wage. The best way to help the working homeless is to pay them better the national minimum wage has stayed at \$3.35 an how face is 18.00 km, while the cost of living has stayed at \$3.35 an how does financial help is already coming from some states. California raised its minimum wage to \$4.25 an hour in July. Other states provide more direct assistance. New Jersey has prevented 12.000 families from being evisted over Jersey has prevented 12.000 families from being evisted over just four years by providing loss and gennts to help pay tents.

and Chappe, alleviating homelessness is going to cost U.S. taxagers money. It is up to the next President and to the American people to decide how high a priority housing of the dispossessed deserves. In considering the cost, the President should keep in mind that the \$75 billion the Federal Government will spend for low-cost housing this year is meager compared with the mation's biggest housing this year is meager compared with the mation's biggest housing this year is meager compared with the mation's biggest housing this year is meager compared with the mation's biggest housing the year going to \$8.5 million private homeowners, including the very wealthy.



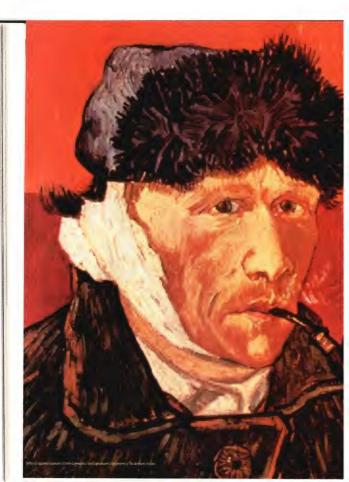
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#### American Notes



SAN ANTONIO

## The Mayor's Other Woman

If U.S. Hispanics have had a political folk hero lately, it has been bright and handsome mayor Henry Cisneros of San Antonio. So high had his star risen during four much admired terms in office that in 1984 Cisneros was considered a potential Demo-cratic vice-presidential candidate. But last week the mayor. 41. took a dive off his pedestal into the sort of public mess that swallowed up Gary Hart. Cisneros conformations of the control of the

fessed, in an off-the-record interview with columnist Paul Thompson, published by the San Antonio Express-News, that he has been entangled in a two-year love affair with a 39year-old married campaign worker, Linda Medlar, Said Medlar, wife of a local jeweler. in the same article: "He's the love of my life ... We hope to be able to live out the rest of our lives together." The mayor had admitted unspecified marital "difficulties" in his 19-year marriage to high school sweetheart Mary Alice. They have three children, including a son born last year with a heart defect. The stunning disclosure came after months of rumors about his extramarital love life and only a month after Cisneros declared he would not seek a fifth term. As observers were quick to point out, in a constituency with a Roman Catholic and Hispanic majority. his revelations about Linda, an

Anglo, could make his retire-

ment permanent.

FLORIDA

### Uzis at the Five & Dime

Woolworth has been known as a place to buy hairpins. shoelaces or holiday goods. Now customers can find something more pricey-and deadly-in F.W. Woolworth outlets in North Miami Beach and Hollywood, Fla. There \$600 buys an Uzi semiautomatic machine gun, a version of the weapon developed for the Israeli army and now admired by terrorists and drug merchants. Says Woolworth spokesman Joseph F. Carroll: "When a person can relate to his friends that he has bought an Uzi. it puts him in a different league." Some think Woolworth is putting itself in a new league. "It is outrageous. reckless, foolhardy and perverse," says Lieut. Mike Gonzalez of the Miami police homicide division.

EXPLORERS.

#### Peary & Santa At the Pole

American children are apt to know two things about the North Pole. First, Santa Claus lives there. Second. Admiral Robert E. Peary was the first person to get there. on April 6, 1909. Evidently these two lessons could be equally elaborate fictions. Geographers have concluded that Peary probably missed the Pole. Now Peary's handwritten notes of sextant readings, compass bearings and the sun's altitudes have surfaced. They indicate that the explorer himself knew he was no closer than 105 nautical miles away, according to Baltimore astronomer-historian Dennis Rawlins. The jottings. found in an envelope dated April 5 and 6, 1909, by Peary's wife, note that the sun was rising steadily over a period of minutes. Had Peary been exactly at the North Pole, the sun would have remained stationary. Rawlins.



Off by more than 100 miles: Peary and his dog team en route to the Pole

who stumbled onto the secret in the Johns Hopkins library, believes Peary falked his accomplishment. Yet by instructing his wife to preserve the notes. Rawlins adds. "Peary himself took steps to ensure that the truth would survive."

that the truth would survive."

Not all authorities agree
with this interpretation, how-

te ever since the readings may have been taken at a different time. "Peary may not have reached the North Pole," said Gilbert Grosvenor, president of the National Geographic Society, which funded the Peary expedition, "but nothing in the document suggests he was a fake."

CONGRES

#### Farewell, Fort Sheridan

"There is something in the heart of every politician that loves # military installation." declared Texas Senator Phil Gramm about Capitol Hill's ingrained tradition of preserving obsolete forts. Thus it was truly historic last week when Congress approved a measure that could actually shut down some useless installationssay, Fort Douglas, Utah, which was founded to guard stagecoach routes or Fort Sheridan Ill., which mainly protects its 18-hole golf course.

A plan devised by Texas Republican Congressman Richard Armey passes the onus to a nonpartisan Pentagon commission. Which will be a possible to the closings, the legislators would have to reject the entire list and probably have to override a presidential veto. Possible savings for tax-payers as much as \$5 billion a year.

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Steelworkers on strike at a mill in Niksic. Montenegro: a dangerous combustion of economic decline and nationalist fervor

#### World

COMMUNISM

## O Nationalism!

#### Yugoslavia shows how ancient tensions can suddenly boil over

BY DAVID AIKMAN

erbia. Kosovo. The names rise up like wraiths from the mists of European history, evoking episodes that dispatched the tumbrels of war throughout the Old Continent 74 summers ago, or paved the way a halfmillennium earlier for the Turkish domination of the Balkans. It was at Sarajevo in June 1914 that a Serbian-trained assassin shot the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary, igniting World War I. And it was at Kosovo Field in 1389 that the Ottomans snuffed out Serbian independence

Those same names echoed through-

out Europe last week as Yugoslavia confronted its most serious crisis since Marshal Tito's death in 1980. After years of weak central leadership. Yugoslavia's loose federation of six republics and two autonomous provinces seemed about to fall prey to a new plague of nationalism fomented by the numerically dominant Serbs and compounded by anger at disastrous economic management

Yet the Serbs are not the only group in the Communist world that are undergoing a revival of nationalism. In the Soviet Union tensions are smoldering in Nagorno-Karabakh, the Armenian enclave in the republic of Azerbaijan. Vigorous popular fronts have sprung up in the Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Though sanctioned by the local Communist Parties, the movements boldly tested the very limits of glasnost.

Gorbachev probably didn't reckon

with this, and nor did Karl Marx. From its first days. Marxism-Leninism has been peculiarly blind to the potentiality of nationalism to trample like an enraged warthog through the neat corn rows of class theory and inevitable revolution. "National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily vanishing, wrote Marx and Friedrich Engels in The Communist Manifesto of 1848. "[and] the supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster." But the same year was the apogee of European nationalist uprisings in the 19th century.

and defining in the part of the pals of the Bolishe be dealerd on of the pals of the Bolishe viks to be "the elimination of the fragmentation of humanity in petty states and the individualism of nations." He though the workers of Germany would side with Russia after the Revolution of 1917, even though the two countries were still at war. The successors of Lenin and then Statin the Communist system merged with antithe Communist system merged with antithe Communist system merged with the Communist system merged with antithe Communist system merged with the Communist system merged with antithe Communist system merged with antist system merged with antis system merged with antis system merged with anti system merged with system with system with system with s

In Eastern Europe, nationalism has not yet posed a threat to the viability of the regimes themselves. But the winds of the Gorbachev revolution have shaken Czechosłowakia and Poland In Prague Islaw etc. Communist Parry Leader Milks Jakes fired Lubomir Strougal, the country's Prime Minister for 18 years, and his entire 22-member Cabinet. Strougal's problems sympathy for perestrokac.

In Poland newly installed Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski took a different approach. As the government continued the daunting task of reaching a compromise with the leadership of Solidarity, the banned trade union. Rakowski invited four independent and opposition figures to join his Cabinet last week. Though all four rebuffed him. Rakowski promised to hold the seats open in case they changed their minds. As he admitted to TIME last week, "Our centralized system for decades has limited individuals' abilities to adapt, to

take initiatives. We have to get rid of all those blockages."

So must Yugoslavia, which went its own way after 1948, but whose economic problems are now among the most serious in the region. Living standards have plummeted over the past several months with inflation now rising at more than 259% annually, unemployment at 16% and a foreign debit of 321 billion. But the withering ecuniomy has merely exacerbated, rather than created, antionalist animostities among the six republishes and two automatics among the six republishes and two automatics are supported to the support of the six republishes and two automatics. The proposed tools intendished the processed local nationalists sentiments when

they occurred. After his death, that authoritarian rule gave way to a weak rotating leadership designed by Tito to prevent the domination of the country by any one national republic.

national republic.
The leadership vacuum coincided with
The leadership vacuum coincided with
bitter ethnic tensions in the autonomous
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account for at learn 17% of its 19 million
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and talles of rape and murder of Serbain
Kosovo by Albanians stirred many of YuSovo by Albanians stirred many of Yuship to implement to the state of the serbain
crackdown on Kosovo and tough teadership to implement it. The man and the

hour met in 1986 when Slobodan Milosević rose to power in the Serbian Communist Party and soon stirred up a wave of nationalist anger over Kosovo.

During the past few months, Milodewié has defly manipulated his supporters throughout Serbis into pressing for the ouster of moderates opposed to tightner Serbian controls over Kosovo. Demonstrations erupted in Serbia and Voivodina, like Kosovo an autonomous province. In Monitenegro last week, police used tear gas and nightsticks to suppress a demonstration by thousands of Milodewig partisans.

The virulence of the nationalist outbursts prompted authorities in Belgrade to put civil-defense units on a state of alert. More ominously, Yugavoisalv President Raif Dizdravis warned on national television that further unrest could force him to adopt "extraordinary conditions," a euphemism, presumably, for emergency police nowers:

#### The Man Behind the Mobs



He is known to his followers as "Sobo," me a nickname most English-speaking politicians would covet but a perfectly tuneful contraction to Stavice area. At 27, Sobodoian contraction to the stavice in Yagodoia Nistory: Tilo, who teld his country from the end of Weid War. B until his death in 1980. As Communist Party clauder in Serlina, Millicaveix posite for the largest of Yagodoia Nistoria Guarting mits of ethics, and the stavice in Yagodoia Nistoria Guarting mits of ethics, and the stavice in the stavice of the stavice of

The son of a Serbian Orthodox priest, Miiosevic (pronounced Mee-low-sheh-vitch) graduated with a degree in law from Bel-

grade University, He spent the early part of his career as a banker, rise ing to president at the Belgrade Bank. Milicades destreade party positions full-time in 1982 at the urging of his mentor, Ivan Stambolic, a long-time I'lls supporter and later Serblan state president. A year ago, Milicade led a populist-style coup against entrenched party and government leaders in Serblas Stambolic was tis most promisent victim.

A professed economic reformer who wants Yugoslavia to adopt a market-style economy, Milosevic pims the country's troubles on "bureaucrats who have divided the Yugoslav people into nations, republic and provinces." Even so, he also unabashedly asserts Serbia's national pre-eminence, including its right to control the autonomous province of Kosoro, where the Serbs are an ethnic minority, As a result, Milosevic's admirers and growing in number, but so are his critics.



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#### World

Those words failed to blunt the drive by Milośević for greater power for himself and Serbia. As party meetings were held throughout the republics in preparation for a meeting of the 165-member Yugoslav Central Committee this week, there was talk that up to one-third of the members might be ousted in a pro-Milośević shakeup and a purge of incompetents. The Serbian party, meanwhile, hammered away at the Kosovo issue. A Serbian party resolution, backed by Milošević, demanded the ouster of three top Kosovo party officials. two of them ethnic Albanians Warned Milosević: "The people gather in the streets because their institutions fail to settle the

In Slovenia, the country's most Westernized and prosperous republic, party leader Milan Kucan accused Serbia of deliberately fanning nationalist passions. Slovene newspapers have compared Milošević with Mussolini, and some Serbian journalists regard Milośević as a sinister new figure on the national stage. Said a currently banned political journalist in Belgrade: "Even during the Cominform and Stalin there was not such systematic and widespread muzzling of the press in Serbia as this. Milosević is dangerous."

hough Milosević complains that such criticism of him amounts to 'spreading fear of Serbia." demagogic tactics could backfire at the upcoming Central Committee meeting. He is demanding changes in the federal constitution that would decisively reinforce his powers over Kosovo and Voivodina. But some analysts speculate that his opponents may call for his removal as Serbian party leader at this week's plenum

Nationalist yearnings figured in the

uprisings that shook Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland over the past three decades. No demagogue stepped forward. however, in any of the three Communist countries to whip the populace into mob fury. That is what is happening in Yugoslavia, as Milośević incites his Serbs to a fierce nationalism oblivious to Communist Party etiquette. The early success of his campaign does not yet point to the breakup of Communism in Yugoslavia. But Milosevic's mischief, combined with the rumblings in the East bloc, are two sides of the same coin of Marxist economic failure. At a time when the Kremlin has shown a new interest in learning from other Communist countries, the Yugoslav crisis has clearly provided Gorbachev with a graphic lesson in what can happen when economic discontent and nationalism mix. Reported by Kenneth W. Banta/Belgrade and B. William Mader/New York

#### **Back in the Baltics**

When underground electric cables had to be laid in the Estonian capital of Tallinn this summer, a call went out for community help. Working mostly with shovels, some 5.000 volunteers dug a trench more than a mile long in one night. A Soviet television reporter asked a ruddy-faced young Estonian why he had come. "I want to help so that perestroika doesn't begin just up there," the volunteer explained with a wave of the arm. "but with me here, with this

shovel. Those must have been gratifying words for Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who has repeatedly pushed for less talk and more work. But they were double-edged. The shovel brigade was not organized by the Communist Party but by a new, pro-perestroika grassroots movement called the Estonian Popular Front. Since the group first emerged last April in the most northerly of the Soviet Union's three Baltic republics, similar movements have taken root and flourished in neighboring Latvia and Lithuania, attracting hundreds of thousands of followers. What unites them is the common goal of promoting greater regional autonomy. In the words of the Latvian movement's draft program, people want "to be masters in their own land.

Since annexing Latvia. Estonia and Lithuania in 1940, Moscow has tried to stifle resurgent nationalism in the Baltic states. Flags from the brief era of independence between the two World Wars were banned from public display. So many workers flooded in from outside the region that non-Latvians now outnumber Latvians (52% to 48%) and Estonians constitute only 60% of the population in their republic. Economic decisions take the form of edicts from Moscow. Notes Indrek Toome, chief ideologist of the Estonian Communist Party: "In our own republic we are not entitled to fix the

congress in Tallinn two weeks ago. Communist Party First

SWEDEN ESTONIA LATVIA LITHUANIA POLAND

price of a cinema ticket or the cost of a jar of Tallinn sprats. This overcentralization angers people.

Under Gorbachev, the Kremlin has displayed a willingness to devolve more responsibility to local authorities. Visiting the region in August. Politburo member Alexander Yakovley declared that "the national factor should become one more motive force of perestroika." Nowhere has Moscow's apparent about-face in the Baltics been more evident than in the guardedly favorable recognition given the popular fronts. When the Estonians held an organizational

> Secretary Vaino Valias brought greetings from Gorbachev. At the end of a similar conference in Riga last week. Latvian party leader Janis Vagris stressed that "Communists and members of the Popular Front have common objectives.

This shrewd collaboration may be calculated to keep the party from losing the initiative and divert nationalist sentiment into controllable channels. But the tactic is not without risk. Concerned that 90% of the Popular Front members are Estonian. Russians who live in the Baltic republic have formed their own "international" movement. Estonian leader Valjas has urged Popular Front members to "avoid aggravating nationalist disputes

Marju Lauristin, an Estonian activist, has suggested that the Popular Front was born out of the "alienation" many Estonians feel toward existing social and political organizations. The popular front movements have certainly reinvigorated public debate in the Baltics, inspiring proposals for everything from local convertible currencies and free economic zones to the establishment of independent relations with foreign countries. If such dreams and hopes result in nothing but more empty words, the return of old frustrations will be all the more bitter

- By John Kohan/Moscow





Kahane, right, personifies the zealous strand in Israeli politics

Left-wing demonstrators protesting the occupation

ISRAEL

#### **Power to the Fringe**

Extremist parties court a divided electorate

BY JON D. HULL JERUSALEM

nside a crowded courtroom in Jerusalem, a rapt audience sat hushed as the nation's highest judges wrestled with an explosive question: Is Rabbi Meir Kahane simply too fanatical to run in Israel's Nov 1 election? Outside dozens of the American-born rabbi's supporters bellowed their own verdict, waving banners emblazoned with Kahane's provocative trademark, a clenched fist. Starry-eved disciples strained to touch the man who vows to expel every last Arab from both Israel and the occupied territories. Exclaimed one young follower: "Next month we shall decide once and for all how to deal with the Arabs.

Kahane personilies the most realisors strand in Israeli potities. This week the high court will decide whether his utra-certensik Kahe Parry can be hanned from the hallot under a controversial new law that excludes parries demend ratio or anti-democratic. But in a campaign marked by mounting anger and violence, more and more voters are deciding that the profilerating spiting remises on hong pressible, as clear-cut, dramatic solution to the eleven-month-off Palestinian curvaing.

The fringe appeal is hardly surprising larel's so-called government of national unity is widely ridiculed as a mismatch that has locked Israel into a debilitating status quo. Both Labor's Shimon Peres and Likud's Yizhak Shamir have defined the election in terms of peace and the Palestimans, but notiber candidate offers any who defected from Labor to protest the government's handling of the uprising. "The intifadeh [uprising] has divided Israel more than ever. The two big parties simply have not convinced the public that they have the answer."

If Kahane is allowed to run, public opinion polls suggest he could win as many as three seats in the 120-member. Resease. Voters distillationed by the two major parties also have 25 other alternatives, ranging from Community West Bank; others propose an independent Palestinian state. The leader of a religious party called sHAS promises God's blessing incrum for a vote, while another candidate is

#### "The two big parties have not convinced the public that they have the answer."

a former convict jailed for tossing a hand grenade into the Knesset in 1957 and wounding David Ben-Gurion. The Yemenites' Union and the Politeness Party reflect rather specialized interests.

Israel's increasingly allenated Arabs could net at least 14 seast in partialment if they unified their vote. So far, no one party has been able to capitalize. Many of the 320,000 Arab voters have traditionally become Labor, but this year some are looking farther left. Their defection could have a boomerang effect, swelling Likud's plurality at the expense of Labor. Three other lefts parties could account for as many as eight seats in the Knesset.

which calls for direct negotiations with the P.L.O., could pick up another. But he represents the only Arab party that Labor might stomach in a coalition.

Only about half of the fringe parties are likely to enter the Knesste. but their presence in the campaign forces. Likud to ever farther right and Labor farther left. And any party that wins just 1% of the vote—a mere 17000 ballots—from 500 ballots—from 5000 ballots—and the secret wom most than 50 each some of the secret wom most than 50 each proposed and the secret wom most than 50 each proposed enormous power when it comes time to form a government.

This year both Labor and Lixud hope to stich logether amjority without each other. Likud's most obvious partners is Tenby, an extremel party that says what Prime Minister Shamir may only think. It many as seven. We want annexation, declares Yuval Neeman, party leader and director of the Israeli Space Agency. At a minimum, Tehiya would insist that Shamir launch a new wave of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and promise in table with a land deed in his back ocket.

The Citizens' Rights Movement is the left's answer to Tehya, proposing direct talks with the P.I.O. and an end to the military occupation. It now holds five seats and may win up to eight. Party leader Shulamit Aloni. A former Labor member. Assulamit Aloni. A former Labor member has already informed Peres that she will join a Labor government if he adopts a more aggressive peace platform, perhaps to the point of agreeing to negotiate with a reformed P.I.O. Israel is paying a steep price for its pellar to the point of agreeing to negotiate with a

culiar form of democracy. Extremism is on the rise, and the public remains far too divided to deliver a mandate. The farthest-out factions that win a handful of crucial votes may determine the next Prime Minister.

-Reported by

Robert Slater/Jerusalem



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SRILANKA

#### **Blood** on the **Ballot Box**

A savage ethnic rivalry propels the nation toward anarchy

minous sounds woke Chandralatha. 28. last week in the remote jungle hamlet of Mahakongaskanda. Sensing danger, "I told my husband to hide under the bed " she later recounted from a hospital bed where she was recovering from bullet wounds. "He kept his body against the door and tried to hold it closed. They shot through the door, killing him." Chandralatha's one-year-old baby was also killed, and two of her other children were wounded. Altogether, 44 residents of Mahakongaskanda, including 18 children, were shot or hacked to death with machetes in the bloody attack on the Sinhalese village

The massacre bore all the hallmarks of the guerrilla group known as the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and came almost exactly one year after Indian troops launched their offensive to disarm the Tigers. Indian soldiers had arrived in Sri Lanka in July 1987 to help implement an Indo-Sri Lankan agreement that gives the minority Tamils a greater measure of autonomy. But militants on opposite sides of the bloody Sri Lankan conflict united in rejecting the agreement.



The peace pact continues to spawn violence.

Although the pact would grant the Tamils some self-rule by combining Sri Lanka's northern and eastern provinces. where they are in the majority, the Tigers insist that it does not go far enough. Sinhalese extremists led by the People's Liberation Front (J.V.P.) object that the accord gives away too much. The two chief candidates campaigning to replace retiring President Junius Jayewardene, 82, in a December vote are opponents of the agreement, and have vowed to send the 70,000 Indian troops home.

Last week's violence came on the day before nominations closed for Nov 19 elections to form a provincial council in the new northeastern Tamil province. The Tigers say the council will have too little power, and have labeled those who support the election as traitors "who will not be forgiven." The point was ruthlessly driven home last week when three members of Tamil organizations taking part in the voting were shot dead

But the Tigers reserve most of their wrath for the Indian soldiers sent to enforce the agreement. Once considered protectors of Tamil autonomy, they are now the chief target of the insurgency. In the past year guerrillas have killed more than 600 Indian military men.

President Jayewardene had his hands full in the south, meanwhile, as radicals among the Sinhalese majority continued their own agitation against the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement. Even schoolchildren took part in last week's protests, resulting in three student deaths before the government closed down all schools indefinitely. On Monday the J.V.P. called for a "day of resistance" against the provincial election. More in fear than in sympathy-the J.V.P. has in the past year murdered some 450 supporters of the accord-most of the Sinhalese population cooperated. The strike marked the second time in a month that Sinhalese rebels have paralyzed Sri Lanka, reinforcing the impression that Jayewardene is losing control of a nation many fear is on the brink of anarchy. By Michael S. Serrill, Reported by Qadri Ismail/Colombo and Anita Pratap/New Delhi

#### Grapevine



No offers: Namphy

LIGHT AT THE TUNNEL'S END. The negotiators working on a timetable for the withdrawal of 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola have learned not to underestimate Fidel Castro. When South African forces mounted a successful operation in Angola at the end of 1987, Castro rushed in as many as 5,000 additional troops, including his own elite presidential guards. Largely because of Castro's move. South Africa backed off and resumed peace talks. Now

Castro insists that his troops leave on Cuban ships and planes, not Soviet ones. "Fidel put everything on the line," says a U.S. diplomat. "He's determined to leave Angola with his head held high."

EASY DOES IT, YOUNG MAN. Will Communist Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang. 68, eventually succeed Deng Xiaoping, 84. as China's leader? A recent spasm of economic unrest did not help his chances. Zhao reluctantly called for a slowdown in the pace of reform. But that decision is likely to slow his ascension. China's veteran military commanders will now wait to see if Zhao, once considered a shoo-in to succeed Deng, can put the economy back on COURSE

OUT OF THE SHADOWS. Haitians long suspected that Lieut, General Henri Namphy, ousted as President last month. had links to the dreaded Tontons Macoutes. But photos found after his overthrow have shocked even the most cynical Haitians. One shows Namphy with his arms around two Macoutes assassins killed by mobs during the coup. Namphy apparently

also had a nasty temper; a Haitian businessman claims he vowed to murder two U.S. legislators if they showed up to observe last November's elections. (They never came.) No wonder no country has offered Namphy political asylum.

BUG CONTROL. After the U.S. discovered last year that its embassy under construction in Moscow was riddled with bugging devices, a study commissioned by the State Department recommended razing the \$22 million building. Demolition cost: \$160 million. No decision has been announced. But U.S. diplomats concede that the shrubbery surrounding the building has a new kind of mulch: shredded documents. That is one way to save tax payer dollars-and thwart bugs.





Main drag in Las Palomas: the common frontier both binds and bisects, creating an uneasy mixture of cooperation and distrust

## **Journey Along the Border**

A TIME correspondent explores the 2,076-mile boundary where the U.S. and Mexico rub shoulders but rarely shake hands

BY JOHN BORRELL TIJUANA

me hank of fig loitering along the abore of the Gulf of Mexico the wave emerge leiently, advancing slowly and uniformly, like long this fines of infarty, on the mouth of the Rio Grande The Tiver, exhausted after its circusus odyseys along more than half of the 20%-mile U.S.-Mexican border, of the risk of the control of the state of the state

It is a far from glorious end for a river that for 140 years has been the most rangible physical divide between the U.S. and Mexico as well as the symbolic frontier between the two dominant cultures of the New World. As I skipped stones across the river's mouth with just one bounce. I felt vaguely disappointed. The Rio Grande ought at least live up to its name and course majestically eastward before spilling vigorously into the guilf.

But in reality the river's final moments and indeed much of its progressively arthritic journey toward the sea, are as fittingly equivocal as the relationship between the two countries and cultures it bisects. That became ever more apparent diring the four weeks 1 spent following the river westward and, then, when it turns north to New Mexico, keeping as close as possible to the 258 white obelisks that mark the remaining 750 miles of the bosfer from EF pass to the California coast. There is fosion, especially where the two countries meet. But need to sison, especially where the two countries meet. But need to say despite time where the economy planes of nationalizing grind usay despite time where the economy planes of nationalizing grind usay despite that the plane of the plane of the plane of the plane of the lass in Tuscon. There certainly is no identifiable third country in the making here, as populat mythy would have it.

Skipping one last stone across the Rio Grande. I started inland across flat, marshy country where clumps of sable palms stand out like the befeathered scouts from a Zulu impi. Matamoros, in the Mexican state of Tamaulipas, and Brownwille, in Texas, are the first of a score or more twin towns strung along the frontier. The poverty that provids much of the country's southern border like a hungry coyote sits back on its haunches and hows in florownwille. "This is the poorest part of the U.S." says Tony Zavaleta, a Brownsville sociologist. "Whe have whole suburbs without electricity, sewerage or running water." Across the bridge in Matamoros, where not even the poorest of the poor get food stamps. Indian women work a line of cars for coins as their barefoot children play on the sidewalk.

If poverty is relative, so too are many other experiences. A woman in Brownville, so recent an arrival in the U.S. that she needs a Spanish interpreter in court, is convicted of trying to influence the result of a local election with a \$20 bretle. In Matamoros, where posters from last summer's presidential campaign still crowl the walks beclionars are invested with fewer moral, if not legal, expectations. Perhaps the single most striking statement to gal, expectations. Perhaps the single most striking statement to gal, expectations. Perhaps the single most striking statement to gal, expectations are striken to the single format in the another of the single format in the single format in

The land remains flat on both sides of the river beyond Matamores. The first small hills rise in Start County, west of McAllen. Texas. The moon darts in and out of clouds driven by a strong wind as Border Partol officers. Lec Laurel and Juan Trevino sit in the blacked-out cab of their Chevrolet Suburban. "They choose their sheriffs and deputies by the poolice do not make more drug busts in one of the most important marijuma and cocaine importation routes in the country." If an officer doesn't grab bis man in the fist coupled of steps, he is away fresh, he is away from





Minding the smallest official crossing at Antelope Wells, N. Mex.: Mexican and American retirees at a square dance in Reynosa, Mexico

Trevino, no lightweight himself, is out of the van and uning a couple of hours later when a gaing of smugglers had been tracked to a meaguite thicket. Suddenly shots ring out and builders of the property of

As I drive west along the Mexican highway, listening to my car radio and its plaintive normous courted as (a hind of Mexican country-and-western in which unrequited love, boozy camarade-rie and unfaithful women are constant themes.) I wonder about the growing clamor in the U.S. for more drug interdiction programs and even a millitary "sealing" of the border. Could a democracy manage such an operation in peacetime? And if the mocracy manage such an operation in peacetime? And if the U.S. Government could not stop a hericans from supplying guars to Colombia's drug cartel, what hope did it have of stopping non-Americans from actering to the U.S. diddiction for drugs?

Crossing into the U.S. near the Texas town of Del Rio. I spot an old mailbox that U.S. Customs has converted into a drug drop DEPOSIT CONTRABAND HERE BEFORE YOU EYETER THE UNITED STATES reads a sign in language that seems more suitable for an antiliteting campaign. The lock on the mailbox is rusty, and a spider has built a formidable web over the chute where any law-abid-ine. English-speaking drug sunsgelr would drop his neat little.

packet of cocaine or heroin. While the mailbox is an extreme example of bureaucratic wishful thinking, the larger U.S. approach to the problem often seems little more sophisticated.

Before reaching Del Rio, the road wanders through Roma, a steamboat terminus in the 19th century. The sheriff is out to lunch, but his office, on a bluff overlooking the river; is unlocked and unminded. Two hundred yards upriver a trio of illegal immigrants from Mexico wade across and disappear; just three more of the estimated 1 million to 2 million people who slip across the border each year:

est of Del Rio. Texas grows dryer by the mile. Tumble-weed bounces across the road and windmills draw up precious water for cattle. On the horizon, dust-shrouded hills appear. blue and mysterious-looking from afar. Road-runners, heads down and tails up, sprint across the highway. River and road separate here as the Rio Grande, cutting through deep limestone canyons, makes a wide are that has given this bulge of Texas the nickname Big Bend Driving south through Alpine and Marfa, I see the border again at Presidie.

Alpine and Maria. I see the border again at Presidio.

I double task 50 miles to the Lagitass Trading Post, an old single-story adobe building with a wide porch, where storekers of the single-story adobe building with a wide porch, where storekers where the Mexicans and Americans together as informally as is possible anywhere on the border. There are no Customs and Immigration formalities here. Mexicans simply cross the river in a battered aluminum rowboat to shop, have a beer, got uch turch tor; a couple of times a year, step out at an levy dance. By 9 pm. the beat is lively, and more than 100 people, nearly half from across the river, are kinking up their heeds been early half from across the river, are kinking up their heeds been early a laft from a cross the river.

someone ventilated with bullet holes at a previous get-together.

As I head west to El Paso the next day, I think about why







these dances are so rare and why both sides seem to misunderstand each other so deeply. "Neither of us ever hears what the other is saying," Octavio Paz once wrote. "Or if we do hear, we always think the other was saying something else." The roots of the two cultures are so deep and enarled by time that it is not just language that cuts a deep scar across the continent.

The Spanish conquistadores who fell upon Tenochtitlan, the Aztec capital, in 1520 came to establish the old order in the New World. They came as agents of the King and God. They also came in search of gold, and they came without women. Just as Mexico City was constructed on the ruins of Tenochtitlan, the new societies throughout Hispanic America sprang from the loins of the defeated Aztecs, Mayas and Incas, Nearly a century later, English settlers arrived in North America for different reasons. Accompanied by their families and not haunted by visions of gold, they sought less to conquer than to escape the old order and to begin afresh.

fter winning independence from Britain, the fledgling United States established a democracy that reflected the character of the colonizers. Simon Bolivar and other Latin American revolutionaries tried to emulate the American Constitution, but their carefully crafted documents were quickly subverted by strongmen. When Augustin de Iturbide. Mexico's George Washington, assumed power in 1822, for example, he immediately had himself crowned Emperor. The Great Experiment never took firm root in Mexico or the rest of Latin America, causing a great deal of misunderstanding that persists to this day

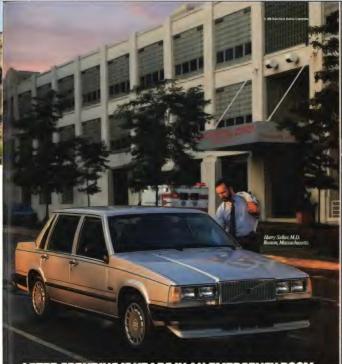
My ramble through history ends as I arrive in El Paso, directly across the border from Ciudad Juarez (the two cities' combined population exceeds 1.5 million). But for the narrow concrete channel that guides the Rio Grande through the urban sprawl, it would be difficult to pick out the boundary. There is synergy everywhere. from the maguiladoras on the Mexican side, where American manufacturers pay less than \$1 an hour to a largely grateful work force. to the shops lining El Paso's Bridge Street, where Spanish is the

Yet many differences abound, suggesting that even here the border is much more than just cartographical whimsy. Two American youths from El Paso were arrested and accused of killing a Mexican policeman and wounding another during a night out in Ciudad Juarez. On the U.S. side, outrage erupted over perceived weaknesses in the Mexican judicial system, with newspapers carrying stories of Mexican police corruption and the shakedowns that supposedly occur so frequently south of the border. But Mexican newspapers highlighted the fact that the slain policeman was the father of three and accused youthful American visitors of an arrogant belief that in Mexico, anything goes. "We still don't understand one another." says Guillermina Valdes-Villava, head of the Colegio de la Frontera Norte in Ciudad Juárez. "We seem tied to images that are largely historical."

Perhaps it is more than just images. In Las Cruces. N. Mex., where the road west finally abandons the Rio Grande. I talk with historian Louis Sadler. "Americans have never really had to deal with fixed borders," he says. "Europeans have had centuries of experience, but until recently in the U.S. there was always room for expansion. I think we are still working out how to deal with borders and other cultures." Farther west in Tucson, Dr. Michael Meyer, director of the Latin America Center at the University of Arizona, points out the inordinate influence of American culture. "I doubt that one American out of 10,000 would know who Sandino was." he says, referring to the Nicaraguan guerrilla leader who in the late 1920s and early 1930s defiantly resisted U.S. intervention in his country and whose name was appropriated by Nicaragua's currently reigning Sandinistas. "Yet nine out of ten Latins know who George Washington was."

Long before I reach Arizona, I leave Highway I-10 and bump along ranch roads that bring the border back into view. In Columbus, N. Mex., which the Mexican revolutionary Pancho Villa raided in 1916. John Alcorn. 69, gestures in the direction of the border. "Had 16 teeth out and a new set of dentures made over in Palomas last week," he says, massaging his gums. Would have cost me \$2,000 in the U.S. I paid \$600 over there. and the dentist did a damn good job." Health care is a relatively new economic trade-off, but the principles underpinning it are as old as the border itself. At Ernest Hurt's ranch just east of the Continental Divide and an easy horse ride to the Antelope Wells border post. Carlos Chavez Perez. 46, works as a cowboy for \$450. a month, about six times what he could earn at home in Chihuahua. Like the Palomas dentist or the assembly-line maguiladora worker in Ciudad Juárez. Chávez eats a lot better doing the gringo's chores than he would doing his own.

The numbered white border markers stumble on west across the Divide and through the Sonoran desert, where giant saguaro cacti. limbs upraised, seem to be surrendering en masse to the high temperature. Along with the sand and outcrops of flinty rock that run west to California, the heat and the saguaros are constant reminders that most of the border is largely uninhabited. But as the Pacific Ocean nears, human settlement increases until, on the western edge



## AFTER SPENDING 12 YEARS IN AN EMERGENCY ROOM, HE'S GLAD HE DRIVES A VOLVO.

Harry Selker bought his first Volvo-because it was a tough, durable, reliable car.

And because back when he bought it, in the 1960's, driving a Volvo seemed

to do:

But after 12 years of working in emergency rooms and hospitals, seeing the results of numerous

automobile accidents, Dr. Selker has discovered another reason for driving a Volvo.

It seems like the only intelligent thing to do. VOLVO A car you can believe in







Vendors earn a day's pay at San Ysidro, the world's busiest border crossing; an obelisk in San Diego marks the frontier's most western point

of Otay Mesa, suburban Tijuana begins in Colonia Libertad. Like much of Tijuana, a city of I million, the Colonia is a jumble of tiny houses that press against the border of the U.S., marked here by two sagging steel ropes, piles of rubbish and cannibalized cars. On the other side are open fields crisscrossed with the tracks of vehicles used by the U.S. Border Patrol to man the line. The view conveys a powerful Dickensian image of poor faces pressed to the window of the world's biggest and most exotic emporium.

Late one evening on an Otay Mesa ridge, Border Patrol agent Michael Nicley uses binoculars to scan an area known as the soccer field, the most important staging point for illegal entry into the U.S. on the entire border. Some 300 people are already there tonight; Nicley recalls a recent sweep of the area during which around 1,000 illegal aliens were arrested in 30 minutes. An hour later, down at the 12-ft.-high wire-mesh fence that strides alongside the Tijuana river at San Ysidro, a soft light from the sinking sun catches the faces of a family waiting for a chance to outwit the Border Patrol. It could have been the Joad family from The Grapes of Wrath. When the man bends down to talk to his young son. I think of Grandpa Joad's vision of California: "They's grapes out there, just a-hangin' over inta the road. Know what I'm a-gonna do? I'm gonna pick me a wash tub full a grapes, an I'm gonna set in 'em, an scrooge aroun' and let the juice run down my pants." The voluptuousness of the image, however expressed, inspires poor Mexicans and Central Americans now just as it did Oklahomans in the 1930s

Even the legal human traffic between the two Californias can be dizzyingly frenetic. At San Ysidro there is nearly always m broad, sluggish river of cars, sometimes stretching back bumper to bumper for a mile, bearing down on the 23 U.S. Customs and Immigration booths. Thirty-six million individuals pass through each year, making it the busiest single border crossing in the world. Americans head south to shop and play: Mexicans travel north for everything from a family visit to work. Ana Maria Ley Estrella, a Tijuana dentist, crosses the border just to have her laundry done. "It washes whiter," she says. Yet the land that washes whiter is not where she wants to live. "Too much sex, too much violence, not enough family values," she says

That is something that Jorge Bustamante, director of the Tijuana-based Colegio de fa Frontera Norte, understands. "Here in Tijuana we have working relations with San Diego, a modus vivendi if you like. Tijuana really has more in common with Santiago, Chile, than with San Diego, California.

The official modus vivendi Bustamente talks about is a remind-

er that this is a unique border between the first and the third worlds. Perhaps the closest comparison is the frontier between Western and Eastern Europe. Yet whereas the East Europeans are preoccupied with keeping their own people in. U.S. efforts on this frontier revolve around keeping foreigners out. Only the bureaucratic language and style are similar. WARNING reads a sign in English and Spanish in the U.S. pedestrian immigration hall at San Ysidro, YOUR ACTIONS AND CONVERSATIONS ARE BEING RECORDED BY VIDEO CAMERA.

f that sounds more like something to be found on the approaches to the Berlin Wall, then it would probably surprise Americans to learn that foreigners entering the U.S. are often accorded a good deal less courtesy than they would expect. perhaps demand, from # Mexican official. Proffering my British passport, with its multiple-entry visa to the U.S. inside, to a Customs officer, the conversation goes like this:

"Where do you live now? "Mexico City."

"Why are you entering the United States?"

"To have a drink in San Diego with a university professor." "Now that doesn't sound likely, does it? All the way from Mexico City to have a drink in San Diego.

"It does if you happen to be staying in Tijuana."

"How do I know you are staying in Tijuana?"

After providing apparently satisfactory answers to this and other questions, I am waved on, the possessor not only of a newly stamped passport but also of a sense of just how far the final few feet from Mexico to the U.S. really are.

More than 2.000 miles from the mouth of the Rio Grande, a rble obelisk with the number 258 marks the Pacific boundary of the frontier. On the U.S. side of the wire-mesh fence, this one corroded by the sea air, sanitation workers are emptying trash cans set about the neatly cut lawns of a small park. On the Mexican side of the fence an eroded gully is filled with garbage. What was once the Playa Azul restaurant is drunkenly toppling sideways, its concrete supports undermined by the sea

Down on the pebbly beach, where small waves skip in one

after another, the fence stops short of the water. Its concrete foundations have been laid bare by erosion; on one concrete post someone has written SIN FRONTERAS (without borders). Whether a plea or a demand, the slogan seems more appropriately a dream. Rich man. poor man. Anglo and Hispanic. They might well rub shoulders along this frontier, but they are still set apart by more than just a river, a fence or a line of marker posts.

#### World Notes

SOVIET UNION

#### **De-Stalinizing** The Farm

There is hardly a more painful period in Soviet history than the years beginning in 1929. when Joseph Stalin forcibly collectivized agriculture. More than 10 million people are beleved to have died of starvation as Stalin herded peasants onto huge state farms and marched their former bosses. the well-to-do kulaks, off to Siberia Given history and Communist dogma, it seemed that not even Mikhail Gorbachev would dare challenge the primacy of the collective farm in the system. But last week the General Secretary did exactly

In a speech to farmers and officials at a Central Committee conference, Gorbachev called for a broad reorganization of agriculture under which many collective enterprises would be subdivided into smaller, leased tracts to give Soviet farmers a financial in-



Calm repast: a Soviet family dines in its own fields

centive for increasing produc- 1 tion. "We have transformed them." said Gorbachev of the farmers, "from masters of their land into day laborers.

Such land leasing has already been introduced experimentally in some areas. with great success. Prayda reported two weeks ago that a group of families permitted to lease part of a state farm in Belorussia increased onion production more than six

#### SOUTH AFRICA **Voting Can** Be Deadly

To State President P.W. Botha of South Africa, a big turnout in black townships for the Oct. 26 elections would signal that blacks have accepted his offer of power sharing as an alternative to revolution. So in an effort to get out the black vote. Botha's government has swollen registration lists, declared it illegal to call for a boycott, and banned major black organizations that have opposed the polling.

times that of the state-run en-Foes of apartheid are terprise's output two years equally determined to thwart an election they see as Conspicuously absent from hopelessly segregated. Activthe Central Committee meetists have scrawled DON'T VOTI. ing was Yegor Ligachev, the on walls, billboards and traffic Gorbachev rival who only two signs throughout the black weeks ago was named head of townships. Antiapartheid clera new commission on agriculgymen and academics have ture. A government spokesurged blacks to boycott the man said Ligachev was "on vavote, despite the ban on such cation," but that "doesn't appeals. Others have resorted mean we shouldn't address the to deadlier tactics: shooting council candidates or fire bombing their cars and damaging meeting halls with mines and hand grenades. Last week, in apparent retaliation, suspected white extremists bombed the headquarters of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, which is strongly opposed to apartheid. More violence may be in store before voting day, with the outlawed African National Congress vowing that it will "esca-

late the armed struggle."



RELIGION

#### Paisley and The Pope

Pope John Paul II had just beeun his address to the European Parliament in Strasbourg last week when Northern Ireland's hard-line Protestant leader the Rev. Ian Paisley stood up and unfurled a red placard that read POPE JOHN PAUL II ANTICHRIST. In case that was not clear enough. Paisley roared. "Antichrist! I renounce you and all your cults and creeds." The Pope gave a slight, bemused smile while members of the Parliament shouted Paisley down. A brief scuffle broke out as they dragged him from the chamber

Outside. Paisley, who heads the Democratic Unionist Party and has a reputation more for delivering fiery diatribes on street corners than for disrupting parliamentary proceedings, angrily complained that he had been "punched and hammered."

With Paisley gone, the Pope, unfazed, continued his speech As elsewhere during his four-day visit to France. John Paul strongly endorsed the European Community's moves toward greater economic and administrative integration by 1992. And he urged still more European unity-reaching out to include East bloc nations-on the basis of a shared Christian identity.

earlier.

#### **Shooting Down** The "Snipers"

question of agriculture."

Italy's M.P.s have long enjoyed a luxury in West European democracies: a secret ballot. Free to vote as they pleased, ignoring party discipline and constituents, parliamentarians often defeated their own governments on key legislation. The franchi tiratori, or snipers, were a primary cause of instability in Italian politics-and largely responsible for the frequent changes of government. Last week the six-month-old coalition of

Mita said. "Enough." Deputies will now vote openly on the budget and other financial issues. But secrecy will be maintained for votes on constitutional amendments, "matters of conscience." such as abortion, and matters involving a specific person, such as selection of the President.

Prime Minister Ciriaco De



# Here's your chance to achieve a small moral victory.



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an and their families. As a non-profit non-sectarian and non-political ration, we depend on Foster Parents to make our work possible. A cop-



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Kenneth H. Phillips, National Executive Director

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Enclosed is a check for \$22 for my first month's sponsorship of my Foster Child. Please send me a photograph, case history, and complete Foster Parents Sponsorship Kit.

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# RUM AND O.J. NAILS SCREW-DRIVER.

How do you prove that Bacardi and orange juice makes a better drink than a screwdriver?

You charge into ten leading vodka markets and conduct "blind" taste tests between Bacardi and the bestselling vodka.

That's what we did, and when it was all over, Bacardi and o.j. triumphed by a wide margin.

Maybe that's because Bacardi, like all rums of Puerto Rico, is aged by law for one year. It has a warmer, livelier character than vodka, suiting it more ideally to orange juice.

Bacardi and o.j. The combination that beats tradition.



RUMS OF PUERTO RICO

# **The Cash Cleaners**

#### A major bank is indicted for running a global drug-money network

or two days, the seven bankers | pa trap was sprung, American and British and financiers had been pampered and toasted at a posh country club near Tampa. Invited to celebrate the wedding of two business associates named Kathleen Erickson and Robert Musella, the men were in especially high spirits by the eve of the ceremony. Rolling into Tampa in a fleet of Lincolns, headed for a stag party, they anticipated a night to remember-and that is what they got. Arriving at the party site, they were greeted by armed U.S. Customs agents. "Welcome to Tampa," said one. "You're under arrest.

The supposed wedding on Oct. 9, in which both bride and groom were undercover Customs agents, was an elaborate ruse designed to lure the jet-setting bankers back into U.S. jurisdiction from other countries. Within 72 hours after the Tamcustoms agents arrested 40 bankers and narcotics traffickers in London and several U.S. cities on money laundering and other charges The investigation, the largest and

most complex yet into money laundering. was called Operation C-Chase for the \$100 bills (C-notes) that are the denomination of choice in major drug deals. While previous probes had netted mostly low-level operatives. C-Chase bagged far bigger suspects. The arrests were based on indictments handed up by federal grand juries in Tampa and other cities. The indictments named some 80 defendants and the first banking company ever charged in the U.S. with money laundering: the Luxembourg-based Bank of Credit and Commerce International, the seventh largest privately held financial institution in the world (assets: \$20 billion). Under a tough 1986 U.S. law, bank officials who knowingly conceal the source of illicit money can be fined up to \$500,000 or twice the amount of the money they launder, and imprisoned for up to 20 years.

BCCI denies any pervasive corruption, U.S. Customs officials, though, say the bank laundered \$14 million in narcotics funds for its undercover agents and considerably more for real criminals. They allege that BCCI was a greenback laundry for the Medellin cartel, the ruthless Colombian mob controlled in part by Pablo Escobar Gaviria and Jorge Luis Ochoa Vásquez that supplies most of the cocaine entering the U.S.

The accused launderers knew their business well, authorities say. By rapidly shuffling ill-gotten cash through a kaleidoscopic array of banks and shell corpo-



#### Let's Party!

going to a bachelor party. But the elevator stopped at the second-floor parking garage instead of whisking them up to the penthouse, and U.S. Customs agents greeted them with handcuffs. The financiers' chauffeurs, also agents, then pulled up to cart the suspects off to iall.

rations around the world. BCCI allegedly obscured the source of the money, then returned untraceable, "clean' funds to narcotics kingpins. Said a senior U.S. Customs official: "It has given us a window into the world of international money laundering like nothing we've had before

Besides the alleged laundering services described in the indictments, BCCI has been accused of handling secret accounts for such clients as Panama's allegedly drugdealing dictator General Manuel Noriega and Saudi financier Adnan Khashoggi According to congressional testimony made public last week Amiad Awan, a former Suitcases with \$8 million BCCI officer arrested at the phony stag party, told a Sen-

ate subcommittee last month that he had made political payoffs for Noriega out of a BCCI account. In 1986 Khashoggi transferred \$12 million from a BCCI account in Monte Carlo to an arms dealer to help purchase weapons used in the Iran-contra deal

Founded in 1973 by Agha Hasan Abedi, a native of Pakistan, BCCI operates 400 branches in 73 countries. The bank is owned by just 51 shareholders, including members of the Saudi royal family. Among the BCCI officers arrested last week were top managers of the bank's Panamanian. Latin American and French divisions.

Customs officials say the initial C-Chase probe of narcotics "greenwashing" in Florida, which started in 1986, led them to BCCI's drug-money network. Posing as money launderers. "Musella." "Frickson" and other agents gradually infiltrated drug-trafficking circles. In May 1986 Gonzalo Moro Jr., reputed to be the chief launderer for the Medellin cartel, approached one of the agents with a proposition. If the agent were to open some Florida bank accounts and help Moro launder cash. Moro would pay a commission on each transaction. Moro instructed the agent

to limit the size of his deposits to amounts smaller than \$10,000. This laundering ploy enables criminals to evade laws that require banks to report cash deposits of \$10,000 or

#### Business

more to the Federal Government. Checks drawn against those funds were deposited in banks around the world by Moro's staff.

By late 1987 Moro had introduced the agents to a Panamanian branch of BCCI for their laundering operation. The agents collected cash from Medellin dealers in the U.S. and deposited it at domestic banks, then wired the money to the account of a newly created shell corporation in the BCCI branch in Panama. The agents then provided the Colombian traffickers with signed blank checks that could be cashed at most banks.

Soon a more complex laundering method was introduced. BCCI allegedly began to wire drug money deposited in its branches to accounts in

foreign banks, using major New York City institutions as unwitting intermediaries. Once the funds were overseas, BCCI allegedly used them to buy certificates of deposit at banks in France. Britain. Luxembourg, Uruguay, Panama and the Bahamas. Using the CDs as collateral. BCCI then issued phony loans for slightly smaller amounts to the agents' Panamanian account. Once again, the agents gave the Colombians signed blank checks drawn against the account. BCCI collected the CDs as "payment" for the loans. pocketing the difference in the amounts

Having extensively documented the laundering of funds through BCCI, U.S. Customs decided to close the net. In April, Erickson and Musella announced their engagement and sent wedding invitations to top BCCI officers and Medellin hoods. The two then played out their romantic charade, making preparations for their nuptials.

onfronted by the Customs agents in Tampa last week, one of the financiers could not believe at first that the agents were serious. Taking the arrest routine for a stag-party prank, he began to laugh as the cuffs snapped closed, and he shouted, "All right! Let's party!"

BCCI officials in London expressed astonishment at the arrests. Said BCCI in a statement: "The bank wishes to state categorically that at no time whatsoever has it knowingly been involved in drug traffic-

> related money laundering." While the arrests had no immediate impact on the bank's substantial legitimate operations. BCCI faces potentially severe penalties under the U.S. antilaundering law. Besides providing for as much as \$28 million in possible fines, the U.S. law authorizes the seizure of narcotics-tainted money or assets, including businesses involved in trafficking and money laundering. Thus the bank's U.S. assets could be vulnerable.

> Customs officials said last week that Operation C-Chase signals a more aggressive and cooperative international approach to uncovering moneylaundering activities and prosecuting banks that, wittingly or not, play the game. Said U.S. Customs commissioner William Von Raab: "The bottom line is that whatever kind of financial institution you are, if you have crooks for customers, then you are a crook." Considering the billions of dollars in narcotics cash deposited every year in banks, that statement undoubtedly put honest bankers everywhere in a heightened state of --- Ry Janico Castro Reported by Elaine Shannon/Wash-

ington, with other bureaus



delivered to agents





Jorge Luis Ochoa Vásquez





Pablo Escobar Gaviria

#### Satisfied Customers

The bank allegedly laundered drug profits for cocaine kingpins Escobar and Ochoa, handled political payoffs for Noriega and funneled money for Khashoggi's Iran-contra arms deals.



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TRANSAMERICA

#### War of the Open Spigots

Can OPEC rein in its mavericks and halt the oil-price slump?

A year ago. the October closing price was \$19.96 per bbl.

Falling temperatures | usually boost the spirits of oil producers. As energy users in the Northern Hemisphere stoke their furnaces and fill up their oil tanks, demand for fuel

begins climbing toward its annual peak. For members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, who supply 40% of the world's crude, the season should be one of relative harmony. But not this year. The group is in the throes of an oil-pumping free-for-all that has sent prices tumbling to levels not seen in more

than two years In the past six weeks, three leading gulf producers-Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates-have opened their spigots, increasing OPEC's total output nearly 10%, to 21 million bbl. a day. Because worldwide demand for OPEC's crude amounts to only about 19 million bbl.. the overflow has created a price-dampening glut. West Texas Intermediate, the benchmark U.S. crude, fell earlier this month to \$12.60 per bbl., a drop of nearly \$3 from its level in August and more than \$7 from a year ago. The price edged upward last week, closing at \$14.92 per bbl.. reflecting expectations among oil traders that the glut may soon inspire OPEC to cut its production

If it does not, experts like Robert Chandross, chief economist at Lloyds Bank in Manhattan, warn that prices could drop below \$10 per bbl, and remain at that level for the next six months. That would mean a repeat by next spring of the oilmarket collapse of early 1986, when OPEC overproduction sent prices crashing to less than \$10 per hbl. While cheap energy helps most Western economies by lowering inflation, petroleum at prices below \$10 or \$12 per bbl. is a painful prospect for such indebted oil producers as Algeria and Mexico and the weakened U.S. energy belt.

The latest production binge had its origins in the eight-year Iran-Iraq war. which ended with an Aug. 20 cease-fire.

During the conflict. Iraq desperately needed oil revenues to fuel its war machine. As a result, the country exceeded its OPEC production quota of 1.54 million bbl. a day. Now that the fighting has ended. Iraq will have enough pumping capacity to increase its production even more, from a current level of 2.7 million bbl. a day to about 3.5 million

bbl. a day within the next 18 months With 100 billion bbl. of reserves. Irao ranks second only to Saudi Arabia among the world's producers. By contrast, Iran's heavily war-damaged oil facilities are currently unable to pump more than its quota of 2.4 million bbl. per day.

The United Arab Emirates was the next to flout its production quotas. Long dissatisfied with its limit of 948,000 bbl per day, the U.A.E. announced last August that it would pump 1.5 million bbl. and now produces nearly 2 million. In response. Kuwait raised its daily output from 1 million to 1.6 million bbl.

Saudi Arabia was not far behind. Earlier this month it declared in a statement "Saudi Arabia has done enough for OPEC The kingdom cannot accept that some members have production privileges and others not." Fearing a loss of market share to other OPEC producers, the Saudis boosted their output at least 15%, to more than 5 million bbl. per day. Just as it did in 1986. OPEC's longtime leader is trying to force restraint upon oil producers by pushing prices uncomfortably low. The Saudis last week sounded conciliatory. however, possibly because they believe their point is getting across.

This week OPEC's pricing and strategy committees will meet in Madrid in an effort to hammer out a production agreement that its members can abide by. If that effort fails, as many experts believe it will. OPEC ministers will get another chance to resolve their differences when they recon-

vene in Vienna in late November Low energy prices will help the industrial countries keep inflation in check. A \$5 per bbl. drop in the price of oil typically translates into a 1% fall in U.S. consumer prices. Economists are predicting that U.S. inflation could reach 5% next year. vs. an estimated 4.5% for 1988. But if oil drops below \$12 per bbl., says John Makin, director of fiscal policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute, inflation could ease slightly instead of rising.

The prospect is ominous, however, for indebted developing countries that can ill

afford a collapse in the value of their oil exports. In Algeria, falling oil revenue and prolonged government austerity measures have been blamed for triggering the recent riots that have killed as many as 400 people. Mexico, which relies on oil for 40% of its total export income, expects that oil revenues will fall below \$6 billion this year, compared with exports worth \$7.8 billion in 1987. As a result. Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid has announced \$220 million in new cuts in the government's \$90 billion budget. The price slump is also likely to intensify Mexican demands for another renegotiation of the country's \$104 billion foreign

The U.S. oil patch is relatively better able to withstand another round of low oil prices. The '86 energy rout forced many marginal producers to pack up their drill rigs for good. The firms that remain in the industry are better capitalized and more efficient. Even so, many oil-patch banks and real estate investors, still reeling from the last slump, may be unable to survive another one.

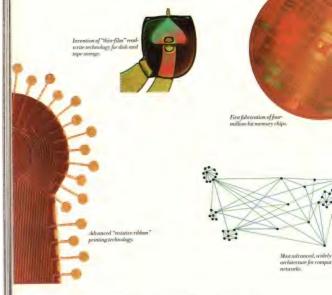
et most investors realize that U.S. oil properties will be quite dear someday, since the country's 25.3 billion bbl. in estimated reserves are less than one-sixth of Saudi Arabia's. Last week twelve companies demonstrated their faith in the value of the finite resource by hidding a combined \$7.3 billion for the oil and naturalgas assets of Houston-based Tenneco. which is selling those properties to concentrate on its gas-pipeline and construction-equipment businesses. Chevron agreed to pay \$2.6 billion for the firm's

stakes in the Gulf of Mexi-Last week it was \$14.92 per bbl.

co. while T. Boone Pickens' firm. Mesa Limited Partnership, will pay \$715 million for Tenneco's midcontinent reserves.

Yet these are decidedly long-term investments. For the moment, oil prices seem capable of deep downward swings. Indonesia's Subroto, the OPLC secretary-general. has warned that prices could fall as low as \$5 per bbl if Saudi Arabia and the other overproducers were to keep flooding the market. If such predictions fail to spur the group toward cooperation over the next few weeks, OPEC may be setting the stage for the oil-price collapse of '88. - By Barbara Rudoloh. Reported by Gisela Bolte/ Washington and Adam Zagorin/London





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#### **Business Notes**



AIRPORTS

#### From Late To Later

Chicago's O'Hare airport, already the most delay-plagued hub in the U.S., may be taking a turn for the worse. The slowdown comes as the result of excessive stress on O'Hare's air-traffic controllers, who committed four errors over five days in late September and early October. In one incident, two United Airlines iets passed within 500 ft. of each other. Blaming a shortage of experienced controllers at O'Hare, the Federal Aviation Administration reduced landings at the airport from 96 an hour to 80 during evening rush hours. Last week the FAA also recommended 20% pay hikes for controllers at O'Hare. New York City's Kennedy airport and Los

Angeles International airport. The Government hopes to attract more veteran controllers to work at these hubs, where the jobs are far more pressured than at quieter airports.

So far, the new limits at O'Hare have delayed only a few dozen more flights a day than usual. But winter weather could seriously escalate the delays and create backups from Minneapolis to Detroit.

#### Proof for The Pessimists When the U.S. trade deficit

narrowed dramatically in July. optimists were sure that its improvement would go on gathering momentum, but pessimists warned, "Wait a while." Last week the August figures were released, and the pessimists were proved right. The gap between imports and exports widened to \$12.2 billion. up from July's \$9.5 billion. While the deficit has been shrinking this year-to an estimated total of \$140 billion. compared with \$170 billion in 1987-progress may be slowing. That prospect has aborted the U.S. dollar's summer rally. The currency fell last week to 128.25 yen, capping a decline of 4% since August. The plunging dollar reflected the belief among traders that a weaker currency will be necessary to wean U.S. consumers from foreign imports

#### First Boston's Last Waltz

WALL STREET

Even before Black Monday. the First Boston investment firm's go-go days had gone. In late 1986 the company's traders lost \$100 million in the Treasury bond market. Last February the firm's prized merger-and-acquisition specialists. Bruce Wasserstein and Joseph Perella, defected to start their own firm, taking 16 staffers with them.

With the firm beset by squabbles over strategy and slumping morale, chief executive Peter Buchanan decided that it needed shoring up. After six months of negotiations. First Boston agreed last week to be taken over in a \$1.1 billion merger with its European affiliate. Financière Crédit Suisse-First Boston. The new investment firm, which will be privately held, will be controlled by Credit Suisse, the giant Zurich-based banking

PRODUCTS

#### A Plucky Little Buzzer

A small Israeli company called Mepro is helping millions of women avoid the razor's edge. Mepro manufactures Epilady. a device that employs a rotating coil to grasp unwanted hair and pull it out at the root, leaving skin smooth for weeks. Introduced in 1986. Epilady (price for the basic model: \$50) has already become a major Israeli export, with this year's worldwide retail sales expected to top \$200 million. But the company faces competition from Smooth and Silky, a similar device launched this year by Remington Products





UTHITIES

#### Antidote for A Smokestack

Question: What do 52 million trees in Guatemala have to do with one coal-burning power plant in Uncasville, Conn.? Answer: they form a healthy environmental equation. That is the hope of Virginia-based Applied Energy Services, a builder and operator of power plants in Texas. Pennsylvania and California. Like any other coal-fired generator, the 180megawatt plant now under construction in Uncasville will spew carbon dioxide, the chief culprit in the globe-warming greenhouse effect. But acting on a recommendation from the World Resources Institute, a

Washington environmentalpolicy research center. AES has voluntarily donated \$2 million in seed money to a CARI project in Guatemala designed to stave off the climatic crisis by replanting depleted

forests. The AES donation alone with help from the Peace Corps and the Guatemalan forestry service, will help an estimated 40.000 local farmers plant some 52 million seedlings that eventually will absorb a quantity of CO2 roughly equal to the amount generated at Uncasville over the 40-year life-span of the facility Says AES chief Roger Sant. "Given the scientific consensus on the seriousness of the greenhouse problem, we decided it was time to stop talking and act."

#### Travel

## **Donald Trumps the Shuttle**

The billionaire developer tucks an airline up his sleeve

or 27 years the Eastern Airlines shuttle has ferried the high and mighty up and down the BosNyWash corridor with the comfort of a cutile car but the cachet of a stretch limousine Every hour on the hour. Senators squeezed three abreast with generals mogule satesmen anchorment of the comments of the comments of the comments of the comments of the comtent of the comments of the comments of the comtent of the comments of the comtent of the comments of the comments of the comtent of the comments of the comments of the comtent of the comments of t

vations required. The airline even promised that a plane would take off with only one passenger on board, a promise it has kept five times. The service grew to 60 flights a day, 3 million passengers a year. So many people were community between the three cities that Pan Am decided to jump into the market two years ago, offering coffee, rubbery bagels, seat phones and boat service connecting a wank art

Trump, however, may have other moves in mind. When his vast, 1259-room Taji Mahal hotel and casino is finished in December 1989, he will control one-quarter of the cassino hotel crown in Allantic City. Last year almost 4 million people rived by air. If Trump diverst some week-end shuttle flights to Atlantic City, he could offer package deals to ture gamblers from up and down the Eastern seaboard. That is just what Atlantic City needs to could be a real short in the arm."

Trump is also in a good position to boost northeast-corridor profits even fur-





Full house: Lorenzo and Trump announce their deal, which could allow the casino magnate to shuttle customers to his doorstep The uniforms are nice, but does he know how to fty?

ment, no hot towels and, until recently, no coffee or tea. But the shuttle has never been about comfort. It is about urgency and influence: the mustn't-keep-the-Joint-Chiefs-waiting mentality, the snap of starched shirts, the rustle of the financial pages, the aisles cluttered with dropped names. Also, it is one of the most profitable airline operations in America.

profitable airline operations in America. Never one to pass up a good thing, billionaire developer Donald Trump entered the airline business last week. He bought the shuttle from Frank Lorenzo, who owns Texas Air, which owns Eastern, for roughly \$365 million in cash. For that Trump gets a fleet of 17 Boeing 727s. landing facilities in Boston, New York City and Washington, and the right to stencil his already household name on the tail of an Establishment institution. And never one to leave well enough alone, Trump vowed to run it as a "diamond," with immaculate planes swooping in and out on time, providing his signature brand of first-class service to passengers who recognize it when they see it.

When Eastern began shuttling in 1961, the service made its mark by guaranteeing passengers a seat with no reserdeco terminal to Wall Street. This prompted Eastern to counter with some apple juice of its own. Though Eastern's market share dropped from roughly 80% to 58%, it remained the most profitable segment of Lorenzo's airline empire.

n announcing his purchase. Trump called the shuttle "unique," and with characteristic syntax and bravado vowed to make it more so. "I want the planes to be beautiful," he said. "totally renovated and as nice as any in the air." At the moment, argues Alan Taylor, an image consultant to 28 airlines, the shuttle lacks a sense of style. "In the Trump name there's a certain magic," he says. "This basic transportation product can borrow some of that loster, that halo of success of that loster, that halo of success that halo of success that halo of success the same success the same success that such as he consumed to the same success that such as the same success that success the same success the same success that success t

But there are those who wonder if the shuttle's arm can survive Trump's touch. Some suggest that the ascetic aesthetic of the old shuttle rather than a glitzle irmage of a flying casino may be better suited to rise puritancial passengers. "It's pretty much a business operation," says airline analyst Raymond Neid! "If he glitzes it up too much, the average guy will say. That's not my batl of wax."

ther. Shuttle prices have been going up. from S60 in 1985 to 599 foday, while fuel costs are going down. As the cash purchase demonstrated, Trump has the capital to expand and improve service in ways that Lorenzo could not. He is also likely to be spared the crippling labor disputes that we dogged Lorenzo and prior owners for the past ten years. Lorenzo has been wrestling with his unions in an effort to cut costs, and the infusion of cash is likely to strengthen his hand.

But the transaction is still not a fait accompli: Eastern's unions immediately threatened to block the deal in court. Though Trump promised that shuttle employees would be "well taken care of," the rest of the workers fear that the sale of the profitable shuttle is just the first stage in the dismantling of the Eastern empire. If it goes through, it is certainly the latest conquest for the Trump empire. By announcing his acquisition in the Grand Ballroom of New York's landmark Plaza Hotel (another recent purchase). Trump reminded his audience that when it comes to collecting varied treasures and making them his own, he is in a class by himself. - By Nancy R. Gibbs.

Reported by Michael Carnell/New York

## Side order of facts.



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Attached to his city: the laureate receiving congratulations at a favorite hangout

#### Nobel Prize

#### A Dickens of the Cairo Cafés

Egyptian novelist Naguib Mahfouz wins the literature award

he journalists who gathered in Stock-The journalists will gathered in holm's Stock Exchange building to learn the winner of this year's Nobel Prize for Literature were once more caught off guard. Naguib who? The answer: Mahfouz, a 76-year-old Egyptian novelist. playwright and film writer. If the choice was predictably unpredictable, the selection procedure seemed familiar. The Swedish Academy again paddled out of the mainstream, this time heading up the Nile to honor the first Arabic writer in the 87-year history of the prize.

Recognized as the father of the modern Arab novel. Mahfouz is frequently compared with such 19th century social realists as Dickens and Balzac. In nearly 40 novels and a dozen story collections, he has dealt with the social and political upheavals Egypt has experienced during his lifetime. His main contribution, says Sasson Somekh, a visiting professor of Arabic literature at Princeton, is the "creation of a new Egyptian style" that combines the narrative manner of classic texts such as The Thousand and One Nights with con-

temporary subject matter The author has lavished an accumulation of vivid detail on re-creating his special part of the world. "He's immensely attached, in the most loving way, to Cairo," says Edward Said, a professor of English and comparative literature at Columbia University Indeed Mafouz seldom leaves the city, where he lives in a modest apartment with his wife and two daughters. Retired in 1971 from his post as an adviser to the Minister of Culture, he spends most of | Simpson/New York

his time in cafés, drinking coffee and exchanging gossip. He is also known as one of the best joke tellers in Cairo, no small compliment in a land noted for its wit.

Mahfouz's untranslated trilogy Al-Thulathiyya (1957) is a 1,500-page family saga that spans 27 years and both World Wars and is read as a microcosm of Cairene society. He supported Gamal Abdel Nasser's 1952 coup d'état but gradually grew disillusioned with the colonel's policies. "It is true that the revolution liberated the Egyptian people and pushed them into modern life," says Mahfouz, "but it led to many wars that tired us out." Mahfouz found himself at the center of controversy in 1979 when he publicly backed Anwar Sadat's peace treaty with Israel. As a result, he was denounced by Islamic fundamentalists, and his works were banned in many Arab countries.

Columbia University Press. which normally sells only 200 copies of Mahfouz's work each year, reported receiving 400 orders after last week's announcement. The author too is in demand, but he is unlikely to stray far from his favorite cafés, not even to accept his Nobel and its \$390,000 cash prize in December. He is pleading frail health, although Ahmed Bahaa-Eldin, columnist for the newsnaper al-Ahram and a close friend, says that he chuckles at the excuse. The Arab world's best-known novelist is, Bahaa-Eldin notes, famous among his friends for his fear of flying. - By R.Z. Sheppard. Reported by Amany Radwan/Cairo and Janice C.

#### Press-

#### Conference Call

Reporters seek more access

robably the last thing George Bush and Michael Dukakis wanted to think about last week was how often they would meet with the press after being elected. Like any other special-interest group hoping to pin down the future President, however, a band of prominent journalists tried to get the candidates to commit themselves to the No. 1 item on the press's 1988 wish list: more news conferences.

Organized by Harvard's Barone Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policv. the 21-member commission conducted a 13-month study of an institution that was born at the turn of the century when Teddy Roosevelt invited the White House press corps in out of the rain. The once vigorous forum, the report concludes, "is now in a serious state of disrenair."

Commission members insist that the report is "party blind." but the project is clearly a reaction to the heavy-handed news management practiced by the Reagan Administration. Reagan has held fewer press conferences than any other TV-era President-an average of about six a year, compared with 221/2 for John F. Kennedy-and informal access to him has been tightly restricted. "Shouting

questions above the roar of helicopter engines just does not make it," says NBC News Washington bureau chief Robert McFarland.

The commission recommends that the next President hold a minimum of two daytime press confer-

ences a month plus six evening sessions a press costs little year. Dukakis em-



braced that formula: Bush refused to commit himself. However, as the report points out, most modern Presidents, including Reagan, promised to be more accessible to reporters, only to retreat as their terms wore on. Former NBC News correspondent Marvin Kalb, director of the Barone Center, is convinced that politicians cannot be truly successful without being open to the press. But his experience as a reporter forces him to admit that they can avoid the press with little damage. "The Bush campaign has kept its distance from the press," he says. "The Dukakis camp started out maintaining a constant dialogue. but found out there wasn't much mileage - By Laurence Zuckerman



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#### Environment

#### **Bad Scene at Rocky Flats**

Once again, the feds are forced to shut down a nuclear facility

n a special meeting at the White House | uranium waste over the past few decades last week. President Reagan and Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci asked Department of Energy Secretary John Herrington to answer one question: Is the nation's nuclear stockpile in jeopardy? There was ample reason for their concern. A few days earlier. Building 771 at the Government's Rocky Flats plutoniumprocessing plant in Colorado became the second weapons facility to be shut down in less than two months, after three people

into the atmosphere and the regional water supply. Plant workers and thousands of surrounding residents have been exposed to danger

The energy agency, whose sprawling. \$8.1 billion-a-year nuclear-weapons network includes ten plants and four labs around the country, countered by promising new safeguards and safety procedures. Among the promised corrective measures: establishing better management



Can the Government produce nuclear bombs safely and without fouling the environment?

were exposed to radioactive material. Simultaneously, a Government report charged DOE-run weapons-research labs with lax security during visits by foreign experts, including some from Soviet bloc

Herrington assured Reagan that DOE was still capable of making nuclear bombs and announced that the agency plans as early as late December to restart at least one of its beleaguered Savannah River reactors in South Carolina, where production of tritium was halted for safety reasons in August. Still, many question whether DOE will be ready any time soon to make radioactive materials for weapons safely and without further damage to the environment. "The Department of Energy is solving problems as they arise. charged Democratic Congressman Mike Synar of Oklahoma, "What we need is a serious overhaul of DOE oversight." As if to underscore that concern. DOF officials reported at week's end that the DOE's nuclear weapons plant at Fernald. Ohio. had released thousands of tons of radioactive

guidelines for private contractors, like Rockwell, Westinghouse and Du Pont. who now operate DOF facilities: hiring better-trained engineers; and instilling employees with the proper "mental attitude" toward safety

Officials at the Los Alamos, Sandia and Lawrence Livermore research centers, for their part, flatly denied that any unauthorized visitors have had access to classified material and insisted that their security is reliable.

The DOE response was unlikely to mollify congressional critics like Ohio Democratic Senator John Glenn, who sponsored a proposal to appoint a civilian panel to oversee safety at DOE facilities. A watereddown version has become law, but it allows DOE leeway to monitor the network. "There is no evidence the DOE can police itself," says Michael Clark, president of the Environmental Policy Institute in Washington. The agency's weapons-production personnel, he adds, "are a rogue bureaucracy that is out of control."-By Dick Thompson Reported by Jerome Cramer/Washington



#### Is the Court Turning Right?

By reopening a civil rights case, the Justices send a signal

segregation in 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court has been on the cutting edge of civil rights advances. Now, however, the Justices may be on the verge of a historic rollback. In an unusual move, the court last week considered whether to overturn its 1976 ruling in Runyon v.

McCrary, a key civil rights decision. That possibility prompted a flood of briefs from Senators. Congressmen, state attorneys general and civil rights groups urging the court not to overrule Runyon

The intense public interest went beyond the issue of racial discrimination. What seemed to hang in the balance was the larger question of whether a conservative court was emerging-one that not only would shape the future but also might reopen other past cases, such as the 1973 Roe v. Wade decision, which granted women the right to have an abortion

The original Runyon case involved two black children's attempts to enroll in racially segregated private schools in Virginia. In ruling for the plaintiffs, the court based its decision on a law passed by Congress in 1866 to ensure the rights of emancipated slaves by granting them the same freedom to "make and enforce contracts" that white citizens had. That law, as interpreted by the court,

allowed racial minorities to bring discrimination suits against private parties and, most important, to collect monetary damages.

Last week's rehearing was prompted by an employment-discrimination suit brought by a black woman. Brenda Patterson, against a North Carolina credit union-an action relying on the Runyon precedent. Instead of deciding the Patterson suit on its own merits, the court voted last April to schedule a rehearing of Runyon itself. If the court reverses its earlier stand, it could deprive blacks of what has become a significant weapon against bias by employers or private schools. It will also undo a decision that has provided a basis for subsequent federal law and more than 100 lower-court rulings.

At last week's oral arguments. Julius Chambers, director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, ar-

ever since it outlawed public school | gued against overturning Runyon by stressing that it had become a "significant part of the web of congressional and judicial efforts to rid the country of public and private discrimination." Surprisingly, when Manhattan attorney Roger Kaplan argued to overturn the ruling, conservative Justice Antonin Scalia, who had vot-



A SURPRISE FROM THE BENCH

**Though Justice Scalia** had been part of the majority that voted to reconsider Runvon at last week's hearing he seemed unimpressed by arguments calling for the court to overturn that landmark decision.



ALL EYES ARE ON KENNEDY

Will the most recent appointee fulfill the hopes of the right? During his nearly 13 vears as a federal appeals-court judge. he had a generally conservative track record on civil rights

ed to rehear the case, asked from the bench. "Let's concede that /Runyon/ is wrong. So what? What's special about this case to require us to go back and change our decision?" When Kaplan answered that the 1976 ruling "intruded on the operation of Congress," Scalia cut him off. "If that's all you have. I'm afraid it's

The final ruling on Runyon, due later this term, might signal the court's attitude toward other civil rights cases this term. In one, Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co., the Justices will pronounce on an affirmativeaction "set aside" plan drawn up by the city of Richmond that requires city contractors to subcontract 30% of the dollar value of their contracts to minority firms. One of the main issues is whether Richmond can impose such a plan if there is no evidence that the city itself has ever discriminated. Invalidating the plan could jeopardize similar set-aside arrangements around the country. In another case, Martin v. Wilks, the Justices will consider whether white fire fighters can challenge an affirmative-action scheme reached through an agreement between blacks and the city of Birmingham that was approved without the whites taking part. Ordinarily, third parties are barred from going to court to object to "consent decrees" once they have been reached

At the outset of the new court term. all eyes are focused on the pivotal figure of Justice Anthony Kennedy, Nominated by President Reagan last year, Kennedy, 52, could be the man who finally tips the scales to the right, "Can Justice Kennedy be the answer to conservatives' prayers?" asks Patrick McGuigan of the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation "All the early data are good." Indeed, in 13 cases last term in which the court split 5 to 4. Kennedy voted with a conservative majority eight times, including the stunning decision to reconsider Runyon, Says University of Virginia government professor David O'Brien, a court specialist: "I sense clearly that the court will make a strong turn to the right in the area of social discrimination." If so, the ideological legacy of Ronald Reagan may last well into the 21st century. - By Richard Lacayo. Benarted by Steven Holmes/Washington

#### **Blind Justice**

Case of the unnamed client

H ow far can the principle of lawyer-client confidentiality be pushed? According to a ruling handed down in West Palm Beach, Fla., last week, in certain circumstances an attorney can even withhold his client's name. The odd case, which has stirred intense interest in legal circles. grows out of the death of Mark Baltes, a 28year-old electrician killed by a hit-and-run driver in 1986. The driver was never caught, but the day after the accident, attorney Barry Krischer was visited by someone who would say only that he or she-the gender has not been revealedmay have been involved. The visitor asked Krischer to discuss a possible plea bargain with prosecutors but without revealing a name. The prosecutors refused the anonymous dealing. Baltes' parents brought a \$6 million damage suit against the unnamed figure and sought to compel Krischer to provide the name. But state circuit-court Judge Timothy Poulton ruled that under Florida statutes protecting lawyer-client relationships, Krischer could keep mum. It was hard to rule against the parents, said the judge, "but I am convinced the law requires it." The Baltes vowed to appeal.



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#### Technology

#### Soul of the Next Machine

With flair and ballyhoo, Steven Jobs unveils his latest computer

#### BY PHILIP ELMER-DEWITT

o be a hit with humans. Il computer needs to be more than the sum of its hardware and software and metal skin. The most successful machines have a

built-in emotional component. something that connects the tools in the computer with the whims of its user. Perhaps no one understands this better than Steven Jobs, co-founder of Apple Computer and the man who made the personal computer a household term. In the three years since he was forced out of Apple, the dreamer behind the Apple II and the Macintosh has been trying to do it again-to create out of silicon his vision of what it is that makes people feel a bond with their machines

In one of the most widely ballyhooed product launches ever, Jobs last week unveiled his latest offering: a machine called, appropriately enough, the next computer. Housed in a matte black magnesium case. combine the computing power of a \$20,000 engineering ma-

chine with the simple congeniality of a personal computer. It will be sold, at least initially, only to colleges and universities. But by all accounts, Jobs has his eye on a much larger prize; the \$3.6 billion market for high-powered workstations that represents the fastest-

growing segment of the computer industry. "It's a real mindblower," declares Stewart Alsop, editor of P.C. Letter and one of 3,000 industry leaders invited to San Francisco's Davies Symphony Hall to witness the debut. The event was vintage



Will it be the next Macintosh, or just another Lisa?

Jobs, a sound-and-light show designed to inspire the faithful and persuade the skeptical. Among other stunts, Jobs demonstrated how the machine could run four stopwatches at once, simulate an oscilloscope and give a synthetic rendition of Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a

Dream" speech. For the most part, the crowd was duly impressed. Says Richard Shaffer, editor of Technologic Computer newsletter: "I arrived a nonbeliever, and I came away a convert.

Since the first market-ready models of the Next computer may not be available until next summer, definitive appraisals will have to wait. But the range of standard features-from the ability to connect with high-speed networks to the crisp stereo sound-adds up to a strong package.

At the same time, some of the machine's main components represent noteworthy technical advances.

The biggest surprise is the computer's built-in disk drive. Rather than rely on standard floppy disks. Next comes equipped with an erasable magneto-laser disk built by Canon and controlled by a proprietary chip. The 51/4-in. disk, which will be the first of its kind to come to market in the U.S., slips in and out of the computer like a floppy. but holds 256 megabytes-more data than 300 IBM PC or Macintosh disks. As if to underscore the massive storage capacity this represents. Next's disk comes loaded with software programs, operating instructions and four fat reference books-a dictionary, a thesaurus, a book of quotations and the complete works of Shakespeare. Yet it still has enough free space to store 100 copies of Moby Dick.

The design of the machine is equally advanced. Most of the serious hardware is encased in a 1-ft. cube that can sit on the floor, leaving only the keyboard and a streamlined monitor to clutter a desktop. Yet the cube packs plenty of power. To

Quick, What Are the Prime Factors of 9,412,343,607,359,262,946,971,172, 136.294.514.357.528.981.378.983.082.541.347.532.211.942.640.121.301. 590.698.634.089.611.468.911.681?

on't bother reaching for your calculator. To turn this 100-digit monster into its indivisible primes—as in reducing 15 to the product of 3 and 5-would ordinarily require the undivided attention of a supercomputer for as long as two months. But last week the record-size problem was solved after just 26 days by a group of more than 50 smaller machines scattered across the U.S., Europe and Australia.

Employing a technique called distributed processing. Arien Lenstra, a Dutch-born computer scientist working as a visiting professor at the University of Chicago, broke the task into smaller pieces and dispatched them over ordinary

phone lines to computers at universities and corporations. The results were then compiled by minicomputers at a Digital Equipment lab in Palo Alto, Calif. The success of the ad hoc network, one of the largest ever assembled, raises problems for cryptographers and intelligence agencies, whose code solutions are often based on the prime factors of long. hard-to-solve integers. But it certainly demonstrates the enormous power of small computers linked together by electronic mail. Their answer: 86,759,222,313,428,390,812, 218 077 095 850 708 048 977 × 108 488 104 853 637 470. 612,961,399,842,972,948,409,834,611,525,790,577,216,753.

bolster the performance of its main microprocessor. the top-of-the-line Motorola 68030. Next added one chip that specializes in fast numerical computations and a second one to handle sound and music.

For customers who would use the machine for desktop publishing. Next offers a Display PostScript system in which the image on the computer screen precisely matches what will appear on the printed page. For musicians, language students and other users who may want to record or transmit voice messages, the machine comes equipped with a microphone that can convert a sound into bits and bytes and

then reproduce it with uncanny accuracy. For programmers, the computer tries to marry two important software technologies: the Unix operating system favored by scientists and engineers and the userfriendly screen displays popularized by the Mac. Other companies have also painted over the complexity of Unix's commands with easily understood screen images, but Next goes further. It provides programmers with a set of graphic tools dubbed NextStep that allows them to build their own snazzy screen displays without having to write a line of code. The programmer simply selects images from a palette of prefabricated components and drops them into place, a feature Jobs claims could cut the time it takes to write software by a factor of ten.

N ot everyone is bowled over by the machine. William Gates, chairman of Microsoft and champion of a competing software system, declined to attend the unveiling. "That would be lending too much credibility." he sniffed. "There's nothing revolutionary about it." Another software developer points out that Jobs has been associated with as many commercial failures as successes, including the ill-fated Apple III and Lisa machines.

Next does face some difficult hurdles. Last week it still lacked several features that had been promised in its advance publicity, including a color screen, a builtin facsimile machine, a high-speed modem and the ability to display video images from a television or VCR. Moreover. its \$6,500 price tag is more than twice what Jobs predicted, even though it may prove to be competitive. Most troubling is that after three years of development, the computer's main system software is still not ready for release to the general public. and is not likely to be ready for six to eight months. That delay will give competitors-notably Apple and Sun-time to deliver new or improved machines

But for now Next has captured the hearts and minds of some influential people. Says Shaffer: "It's the kind of computer that will excite programmers. They will want to work on this machine." In this business, making a computer with soul may be half the battle. --- Reported by L Madeleine Nash/San Francisco

#### Religion

#### **Debunking the Shroud of Turin**

Tests prove it is not Christ's burial cloth, but questions remain

S ince the Middle Ages multitudes have lowed cuttings to be taken last April.

Testing was done simultaneously at shrined in Turin, Italy, is the burial shroud that Jesus Christ left in the tomb when he rose from the grave. But last week Turin's Anastasio Cardinal Ballestrero calmly announced that scientific testing proves the yellowing 14-ft.-long fabric is only six or seven centuries old and could not have dated from the time of Jesus. Thus ended | cleaned, burned to produce carbon diox-



ENDURING MYSTERY

Scientists' computer enhanced photo of a faint life-size imprint of a man's face on the centuries-old fabric; the color red was chosen to highlight marks suggesting wounds caused by a crown of thorns

Testing was done simultaneously at the University of Arizona. Britain's Oxford University and Switzerland's Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich Each laboratory received four unmarked samples: a shroud cutting and three control pieces, one of which dated from the 1st century. The samples were chemically

> ide, catalytically converted into graphite and then tested for carbon 14 isotopes to fix the date by calculating the amount of radioactive decay. Only London's British Museum, which coordinated the testing, knew which samples were which.

Arizona's Physicist Douglas Donahue says that the three laboratories reached a "remarkable agreement," all estimating dates within 100 years of one another. Averaging of the data produced a 95% probability that the shroud originated between 1260 and 1380 and near absolute certainty that it dates from no earlier than 1200. However, some Catholics held

the most intense scientific study ever con- | out the slim hope that there was a scientific oversight and the shroud might be redated someday

The dating dispute may be settled, but the shroud remains as mysterious as ever. Reason: it bears an inexplicable life-size image of a crucified body, which is uncannily accurate and looks just like a photographic negative-occurring centuries before photography was invented. The elaborate 1988 testing failed to produce any agreed explanation of how the image, which is indistinguishable from close up. could have been imprinted. There is, for instance, no evidence that it was painted.

To many, that is miracle enough. After the news broke, visitors, intrigued by these inexplicable matters, continued to flock to the Turin chapel where the the rolled-up eloth rests in a silver box behind bulletproof glass. Said local cab driver Angelo Di Conza: "Until they prove how the image got there-and the technology to make such an image didn't exist in the 14th century-then I think the scientific question By Richard N. Ostling. remains open. Reported by Norma Colle/Tucson and Robert Movnihan/Turin

ducted on a Christian relic.

The new findings may please skeptics. but the shroud saga is not a major embarrassment for the Roman Catholic Church. Shortly after the earliest known exhibit of the shroud, in 1354, a French bishop declared it to be a fraud. Through subsequent centuries the church refused to confirm its authenticity. The examination that finally discredited the shroud was conducted with the full blessing of the church, in an unusual alliance between honest faith and objective science. When Pope John Paul was informed of the negative report two weeks ago, he ordered. Publish it.

Ballestrero had initially agreed to an extraordinary series of scientific tests on the shroud in 1978, but refused to permit carbon 14 testing, which was crucial to determining the fabric's age. Handkerchief-size samples needed to be cut out, which, to Ballestrero, was unthinkable for such a revered historical item. After technical improvements made it possible to use samples the size of postage stamps, however, the Cardinal al-

# Classic Falls and Fall Classics

California makes a monopoly of the Series

BY TOM CALLAHAN

As the games dwindle down to a precious few, the baseful season already seems to have touched most of its lyfried bases. In last week's play-offs, catcher Gary Carter of the Mest cautally referred to the Dodgers' Orel Hershiser "twirfing a gem." Los Angeles manager Tomny Lasorda has recorded to the control of the contro

To Los Angeles this year, the old cacher Rick Dempsey brough lessons and morals from two consecutive basement jobs at Baltimore and Cleveland. With a double here and there, in the dug-out, anywhere. Dempsey has been a tri-umph. 'My child, my taby', he says of the rookie pitcher. Tim Belcher Tim Belcher Tim Belcher Tim Belcher Tim Belcher Hopey, out in the fabled trade that benefited both descriptions of the fable of the description of the fable of the fabl

other sever men mave seven before. On the subject of tidy journeys. OakOn the subject of tidy journeys. OakOn the subject of tidy journeys.

By the subject of tidy in the subject is associated by the subject of tidy of the subject of the subject of tidy of the subject of tidy of tidy of the subject of tidy of tid

Carter and Keith Hernander saw their old selves this season, or at least the



Oakland The Athletics swept into the Series with four straight over the Red Sox. After winning two one-run affairs in Fernway Park, the A's prevailed at home. Dennis Eckersley was a constant, saving all four victories and earning the MVP award

last month of it, in the Met apprentice Gregg Jefferies. "He reminds me of me when I was young," sighs first baseman Hernandez, 34. "If he goes one game swithout a thi, the want it is nick this head in more during the last days of August, wide-eyed, 21 and charitably listed at 5 ft, 10 m., Jefferies showed the team that thought it had everything what had been missing for a white boysthese and wonder. As Steve Sax, the Dodger second "Hey don't every forcet to have fun."

The play-off snapshots are of Hernandez swimming to thrif base and drowning a foot from shore, of Los Angeles outfielder Kirk Gibson limping out the grand home runs on a frayed leg injected with cortisone (in the spirit of the times, a steroid; "lik amazing what drugs can do." he said), or of National League president A Bartlett Giamatti sniffing Dodger relief pitcher Jay Howell's glove for pine tar or caramel ("I felt there could be some amelioration by mer." said Giannatti. Sounding like Casey Stengel). Biut the memory is of Jefferies botching a bunt. booting a double plant running mto a bull on the base paths. hitting 333 and looking like he wanted to stick his head in the oven.

Usually, the Series sparks a rhubard about the best feam in baseball, but this year only the A's have designs on history. The Dodgers have been very forthright about that, "We definitely are not a dominant team." Hershiper says. "The Mets have a better team," says rightfielder Mike Marshall. "There's no doubt in my mind." Lasorda says. "that we beat the best team in the National League."

Defining Oakland as the team that beat the Red Sox would be a trifle meager. After a 104-wins season, the A's squashed



Los Angeles A painful opening loss and a suspension of their ace reliever didn't keep the Dodgers from taking the Mets in seven tough games. They rode clutch hits and Orel Hershiser's MVP pitching to best what most considered the better team

Boston in four straight and spun even water Boggs when they felt like it. It would place them to be likemed to those princings are principled to the principle of the principle are principled to the principle of the pile titles in the 70s though they are triple titles in the 70s though they are trimonly though to find and excasionally extended to the triple of the best in Game 3, first baseams they McGwire added for shuddering emphasis. "And Jose was 0 for 4."

To the control of the

has been able to incite chants of "steroids, ster-oids" in the bleacher sections around Canseco. But Jose has the grace to grin and make a muscle. "The fans don't mean any harm." he shucks.

The expert on sticky situations, the Athletic-turned-Dodger Howell, says of his ex-teammates. "They're all pretty calm that way, studied, directed, prepared-they're real prepared." His obvious reference is to Tony La Russa. 44. a thoughtful manager whose unusual breadth has never required him to let out his pants. Over eight seasons with the Chicago White Sox and three in Oakland. La Russa has grown increasingly sensitive to the nagging charge of being an attorney-at-law. Branch Rickey and Miller Huggins were good baseball men and members of the bar, but the A's skipper has had trouble finding comfortable acceptance among his tobacco-splattered

### The Book on Who and What to Watch for



NINE MEN ON. A modern Murderer's Row is led by Jose Canseco, the first 40-40 player (42 home runs, 40 stolen bases) in baseball history. He was hot in the play-offs too, adding three homers and a stelen

bate, and face-cling in four rors. Leaf year's Resolues of the Year, Mark Redown (2) Zhome programs, National League Transplant Dave Parket States (2) Extension of the States of the socks and typed. All-State catcher Tarry Stenhanised is solid, and sealowed by accolubic rooks shorted to solid and school of the States of the ("Smale") Stewart and Bob Weller (17 and 5) the states of the Stat



LITTLE ENGINE THAT COULD. The Dodgers don't hit much (.248 for the season), but their pitching makes up for it (2.96 ERA, second best in the league's best pitcher, mild-man-best pitcher, mild-man-

ened Ore Hearhier, went 23 and 5 with a 2.02 cm. at the regular season, capted of the vac. at the regular season, capted of the 55 consecutive coordess immage. Rooks the ore of the consecutive coordess immages and the consecutive coordess immages agained to the three starter, but nagging aliments may limit his effectiveness. Some pages agained to the consecutive c

peers. In his THE BALLET SCHOOL T shirt, under his NO CIGAR SMOKING PLEASE sign. La Russa sometimes yearns to be a little more like Lasorda, who sometimes yearns to be a little less like Lou Costello. One playing chess and the other checkers it could be a surprising match.

it could be a surprising match.

On La Russa's side, routinely the last piece in the game is Dennis Eckersley taithough there is a more nonmatopoetic reliever anmed Plunk: Eckersley stands the reality of winter. After wandering 13 years as a starter, he settled into the Onkland bullpen and commenced saving what has seemed to be every game. When the World Series is over, though, another appearance awaits. He is due in Colorado to testily for an older brother murder. The case was postponed in part for the games.

#### **How About Those Announcers?**

A new service puts fans behind the mike for an inning of action

Two out, bottom of the first, no score. Here's Canseco, who homered off Hurst in Game 1. The left-hander sets and deals. Canseco swines and it's hit deep to center. way back . . . Home run, Jose ("Can You See") Canseco! A's lead the Sox. 1-0!

W hat a blast. Every baseball fan's fantasy is to be Jose Canseco. launching a 500-ft, moon rocket in the fourth game of the American League Championship Series. But what's the next best thing to doing it? Why, calling it, of course

Welcome to Fantasy Play-by-Play. "Ever since the first baseball broadcast, fans have

said, 'That bum doesn't know what he's talking about. I can do better than that," says Fantasy founder Fred Greene, 33, a rabid A's fan who last season brought his dream to life in a box overlooking first hase at the Oakland Coliseum. For \$50. any Tem. Dick or would-be Harry Caray can announce a full inning of baseball with all the electronic panoply of a network broadcast booth. And this year for the first time-at a premium of \$75-you can do an inning of the World Series.

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Calling Game 3 of the play-offs at the Oakland Coliseum

The ump blows a close play at the plate? Give 'im hell

nobody hears it but you. A TV camera records your every utterance for videotape, and when your inning is up you get a cassette of your performance as well as two tickets to another game. Bring a buddy to do color commentary! Amaze your friends! Appall your mother! No holds are barred, no sentiments bleeped, no expletives deleted. The ump blows a close play at the plate? Give 'im hell

Or don't. Check out Jimmy Freeman. a reliever for the Clayton Valley (Calif.) Cubs. Jimmy, 12, was cool as he took the mike last week for the ninth inning of the final play-off game between the A's and the Red Sox, "And he walked him," said Jimmy as relief ace Dennis Eckersley delivered ball four to Spike Owen. But the Eck got out of the jam when he popped up Jody Reed, and suddenly Jimmy dropped

all objectivity. "The game is over!" he shouted. "The A's have won the pennant! Dad. you owe me five bucks!

Jack Curry, 42, a San Mateo. Calif., bar owner, indulged his fantasy last June "I was kinda nervous before my inning, sitting up in the stands practicing my home-run call," recalls Curry, who grew up listening to Red Barber, "The Yankees came up, and the first two slugged homers. I had lockjaw and just kinda mum-

Greene, a radio producer who used to work on A's broadcasts for station KSFO. San Francisco, this year added the Pittsburgh Pirates to his service and got a beer

company to help defray costs in exchange for a plug. Eventually he hopes to expand to all 26 major league parks. So far, most of the media Mittys are male, but females are also starting to find their way into the booth. "Women announcers are generally quite good," says Greene. "The difference is they seem to take more of an interest in the aesthetics of the players' physiques.

bled something.

How 'bout that? You can hear it now: One out, no score. Here's Canseco, who homered off Hurst in Game 1. Will you look at the glutes on that -By Michael Walsh.

Reported by Dennis Wyss/Oakland

#### Milestones

CHARGED. Lance Lalumiere, 23. with felony arson, for setting fire to his brother's cabin in Jefferson. N.H., the town that has been plagued by 21 suspicious blazes since May; in Lancaster, N.H. Authorities will seek indictments against Lalumiere, a former Jefferson volunteer fire fighter, in 16 of the fires. As the arson siege stretched into five months. Jefferson residents slept in shifts to keep watch on the White Mountains town

PENALIZED. Sundstrand Corp., a Rockford. Ill., aerospace firm: \$115 million in repayments, damages and fines; after agreeing to plead guilty to four counts of conspiracy and fraud for billing the Defense Department for such expenses as servants and saunas for company executives, as well as for meals and theater tickets lavished on Pentagon employees; in U.S. district court in Rockford

SUIT SETTLED. By the U.S. Justice Department, with nine Canadians subjected to CIA-funded mind-control experiments in the 1950s; in Washington The U.S. Government will pay the plaintiffs \$750,000 for its backing of the late Ewen Cameron. a psychiatrist who used LSD and shock therapy to reprogram patients' behavior at a Montreal institute

DIED, Mike Venezia, 43, veteran Thoroughbred jockey; of a crushed skull; at Belmont Park in Elmont. N.Y. Venezia was hit by an onrushing horse in a race, after he fell from his mount when it broke one of its legs. In 1964, at age 19, he was the leading apprentice rider in the nation, with 193 winners. To climax that sensational season. Venezia ran off six firsts and three seconds in a single day at Aqueduct racetrack. He had been considering retirement at the end of this year

DIED, Samuel Adams, 55, onetime CIA analyst who charged that military officials. including General William Westmoreland, falsified estimates of enemy strength during the Viet Nam War: of an apparent heart attack; in Strafford, Vt. Adams' allegations were a basis of a 1982 CBs documentary. The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception, which led to a libel suit (eventually settled out of court) by Westmoreland against CBS and Adams

DIED. Bonita Granville Wrather, 65. film actress of the 1930s, '40s and '50s who often played villainous teenagers; of cancer, in Santa Monica. Calif In Now. Voyager (1942) she played an unsympathetic young niece who reminds Bette Davis what a frump she is. In the 1950s, '60s and '70s she helped produce the TV series Lassie and was an executive in her hushand Jack Wrather's business empire.

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# STAND ASIDE, SISYPHUS

Make way for SUSAN SONTAG,

a novelist addicted to essay writing, a highbrow who can take pleasure in pop culture (but not TV) and a critic of left, right and center all at once

#### BY RICHARD LACAYO

he strangest pitch that anyone threw this summer in Bull Durham was a curve ball that Kevin Costner delivered to Susan Sarandon. In the midst of a romantic face-off, he announced that "the novels of Susan Sontag are self-indulgent, overrated crap." Sarandon was so surprised-Who was talking literature?-that it took a few scenes before she hit the pitch back: "I think Susan Sontag is brilliant!" So there. Alerted by friends to this great debate, the flesh-and-blood Sontag left Bull Durham off her must-see list. She well remembered watching a French-Canadian film. The Decline of the American Empire, a few years ago. In that one, a plump Casanova confides that the woman he most wants to sleep with is ... Susan Sontag. Out in the audience, the startled woman of his dreams grimaced. "It was like somebody threw a spitball at me in the theater.

If Sontag's name finds its way into some unlikely exchanges, it may be a sign that intellect is not just a target but a magnet, a fascination even in a culture more preoccupied with stadium bruisers and nymphets. At 55, she has been one of the most visible intellectual figures in American life for more than two decades. In two novels, a collection of short stories and five volumes of essays. Sontag has come to symbolize the writer and thinker in many variations: as analyst, rhapsodist and roving eye, as public scold and portable conscience. In private, she can be funny and informal, tilting her head sideways when she laughs, so that the band of gray in her hair fans out like a comet's tail. But on the page, she emanates an implacable gravity, a command of literature and philosophy that leaves one riveted, if also a bit self-reproachful. While you were flipping channels, it seems, she was laboring under the burden of consciousness. While you were rooting for the Dodgers, she was sifting through Artaud. "Reading is my television." she once said. For most people, it's the other way around

Sontag doesn't own a TV, though she did rent one last month to please a houseguest. (Regarding it with the look of a bird that has found a meteor plunked in her nest, she shrugs, "I haven't turned it on yet.") She also has no phoneanswering machine, no word processor and, in most of her two-bedroom. New York City duplex, no air conditioning. The coolest spot in the place is likely to be the sun-room that opens onto a small terrace. That was where she spent much of the past summer, with its Epytian heat and rainforest humidity, penning in revisions on the typed manuscript of her first entirely new book in a decade.

AIDS and Its Meauthors, which Farrar, Straus & Gircux will publish in January, examines the way the epidemic is thought about and discussed. She conceived it as a seque to Illuese. As Meatphor. he 1978 work: that emerged from her experience with breast cancer, a mastectomy and years of chemotherapy. The earlier book, by tracing myrths that had attached themselves to tuberculosis and cancer. Provided the second of the second of the peri-up. "cancer-prone" personality—that add senseless guilt and afterned to the tracine patients already carry." But it's much share to the branches patients already carry. "But it's much she says: "because there's a new disease to hang all your fantases and othorises on—AIDS."

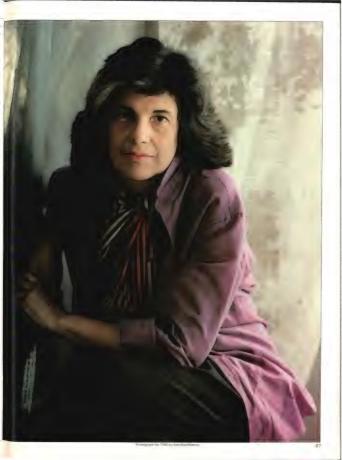
In August. Soning speni a long week at a hospital bedside watching helplesal yas the epidemic claimed another friend "It's like a nightmare," she says. The new book, however, is intended to go beyond sympathy and outrage. "What interested me was what AIDS means for the way people to defend themselves against what is painful and people to defend themselves against what is painful and AIDS is the latest scritt of that disaster, insists of disaster.

It's typical of Soning that she would turn a personal proceocapation into an occasion for larger reflections. Her collected work is a map of her consuming passions: the recollected work is a map of her consuming passions the Benjamin, the filmmaker Jean-Luc Goddned tiln her spare Benjamin, the filmmaker Jean-Luc Goddned tiln her spare at defining a vaporous but crucial into into, the modern sensibility. She combines a metropolitan tasse, omnivorous and hard to satisfy, with a transstantian mind, drawn to European writers and filmmakers. Often she discusses them in the European form of fragments and opigrams. If get impation with linear forms in which you go from a to 8 to c.

It was while briskly particular the outer edges of mo-

derrity in the early 1960s that Sontag became suddenly, improbably famous, for her essay "Notes on Camps," a meticulous exertion of reason applied to an apparently weighless topic the enthussain for silly extravagance, for the likes of Busby Berkeley and Mae West. "Camp is a vision of the world in terms of style," she wrote. But more than that, "It incarnates a victory of 'style' over 'content,' 'aesthetics' over 'morality,' of irony over tragedy."

By taking seriously à taste that valued aesthetics over morality. Sonaig offended American critics trained to sort through works of art for their moral messages. So be it they were the ones she had in mid when, in another moous essay, she declared herself "against interpretation." In her view, interpretation had become a means to reduce uruly art and literature to its manageable "content." a way of rendering art's raw power more digestible. She wanted more attention paid to art's sensual capabilities, to the way it works upon consciousness through the imprint of its form and surfaces. It was all summed up in her famous phrase "Interpretation is the reveige of the intellect upon at "Interpretation is the reveige of the intellect upon at "Interpretation is the reveige of the intellect upon at "Interpretation is the reveige of the intellect upon at "Interpretation is the reveige of the intellect upon at "Interpretation is the reveige of the intellect upon at "Interpretation is the reveige of the intellect upon at "Interpretation is the reveige of the intellect upon at "Interpretation is the reveige of the intellect upon at "Interpretation is the reveige of the intellect upon at "Interpretation is the reveige of the intellect upon at "Interpretation is the reveige of the intellect upon at "Interpretation is the reveige of the intellect upon at "Interpretation is the reveige of the intellect upon at "Interpretation is the reveige of the intellect upon at "Interpretation is an upon an upon an upon an upon a "Interpretation is a "Interpretation in the upon an upon an upon a "Interpretation in the upon an upon an upon a "Interpretation in the upon a "Interpret



Sontags first two collections of essays, Against Interpretation and Sylpes of Radical Will, also made he rucial guide to the intentions of the avant-garde. She attacked Anglo-American fiction for being "deeply if not irrace by, compromised by philistinism." for clinging to realism instead of pursuing experimental technique, as James Joyee and Gertrude Stein had done. In all, the effect of the complaints was electric, a bracing shot at some of the more complained positions in American thought. But her critics accused her of trendiness, of bowing to Europe, of hostility to art's moral purposes. They charged that she equated art with style and made thought subordinate to sensuality.

As far as Sontag is concerned, her positions have been profied. She winces a breing regards as reckless advocate of writers at the edge of madness or extremity. Her essays, she says, give "a skewd ontoin of my tast" because she only discussed figures about whom she felt more needed to be said. "And the last thing in the world that I am is anti-intellect. Even in the most high-spirited, somewhat simplifying formulations in some of hotose essays—effect self. I was in my 20e and full of combative spirit—I was defending a much more serious approach." She did not declare that a rhas no moral purpose.

she sighs. Her point was merely that art and morality are not the same thing, that their interactions are complex. As for equating high and popular cultures, sheexplains. 'I made a few jolly references to things in popular culture that I enjoyed. I said, for instance, one could enjoy both Jasper Johns and the Supremes. It isn't as if I wrote a nessay on the Supremes.'

Sontag recalls herself as "a psychologically abandoned child". Until she was six, she and her younger sister were raised mostly by aunts, in the New York area. Her parents. Polish Jews who came to the U.S. while young, spent most of their time in China, where her father was a fur trader. After his death there from tuberculosis, her mother returned to the U.S. and re-

married. (Sontag uses her stepfither's last name.) In time, the new family ended up living in Canage Park, near Los Angeles, though it would be truer to say that Sontag lived in books in the control of the control of

The paradox of Sontag is that she is an ardent modernist with the carnestness—and superabundant energy—of a Victorian moralis. If she likes to "go faster," it's partly because she has so much to cram in. In August, for insterne group PIX. International (she is president of PIN's A merican chapter in Seoul and managed to infuriate K orean authorities by instently raising he issue of imprisoned South K orean vices. Late September brought the New York Film Festiva rest. Late September brought the New York Film Festiva Premierof Sarah, a documentary on Sarah Bernhardt that Sontag narrates, and a week of public readings, including a benefit for writers and editors with AIDS.

Politically Sontag describes herself as a social democrate but in the 1968s, and the revulsion aroused by the Viet Nam War, she traveled to Havana and Hanoi and wrote about both places sympathetically, though not without misgivings. Read today, the mismatch in those essays between her complex inquiries and the nortimar of Communism is palapable. Her ingering reputation as as lettiss, however, explains the fire storm best off with a brief speech sity separago at a New York City forum to voice support for Poland's Solidarriy labor union. Though the seasine had been organized by a coalition of felftrough the seasine had been organized by a coalition of felftrough the seasine had been organized by a coalition of felftrough the seasine had been organized by a coalition of felftrough the season had ben

Newspapers around the world dissected the event for weeks afterward. The left attacked her as a pawn of the right and the right as a latecomer to anti-Communism. Soniag was stumed by the response, especially the assumption that her rejection of Communism was a recent development or that it signaled a sharp more rightward development or that it signaled a sharp more rightward testing Cubak's imprisonment of writers like the post Hetesting Cubak's many fined living in the U.S. She also in-

sists that her views air not the result of the close friendships whe has formalism, the close friendships when has from Communism, including Creates Miloso of Polands Miloso of Poland Joseph Brodsky of the Soviet Union, both Nobel laureates. But their situation is never far from her thoughts. Her first novel in nearly a quarter-central first novel in nearly a quarter-central first novel in nearly a quarter-central first novel in reals. The Western Half is about plant and Soviet emigres in Paris, New York and Midwestern academe.

Sontag's earlier novels have met a mixed reception, and not just in Bull Durham. Though she builds an absorbing puzzle in The Benefactor (1963), in parts of Death Kit (1967), the scientific instrument of her prose is never quite

equal to a musical instrument of the imagination. But in her more recent short stories, many of them collected in *L. excetera* (1978), she triumphs, neatly drawing thought into the shapes of feeling. At the end of the story *Debriefing*, about the speychic perils of city life, she even makes when

could be a gently funny summation of her own doggedness:
"Sisyphus, I. I cling to my rock, you don't have to chain
me. Stand back! I roll it up—up, up. And... down we go. I
knew that would happen. See. I'm on my feet again. See,
I'm starting to roll it up again. Don't try to talk me out of it.
Nothing, nothing could tear me away from this rock."

her time to fiction—and failing—Examy visition to the conbert into the fiction—and failing—Examy writing is part of an
addiction that I'm trying to kick. My last easy is like my
last cigaractic "She quit smoking two years ago, but there's
still one more essay she plans to turn out, this one about intellectuals and Communism, taking as its point of departure the distillusioning trip that the writer Andre Gide
ande to the Soviet Union in 1956. And then there's a short
book on Japan And then. Well, at least the tube wory!

be distracting her. The housegues has departed, and the
defirst has been a simple to the control of it." she admits. "But I couldn't watch much. The thing
about television is, it goes to also the

#### ANALYST, RHAPSODIST AND ROVING EYE.

often she writes in fragments and epigrams. "I get very impatient with linear forms in which you go from a to b to c. I love to go faster."



lerry Hunter

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#### Education



Last chance for a B.A.: great-grandmother Johnson, center, in class at Berkeley

#### The Over-25 Set Moves In

Adults are fast becoming the majority on college campuses

A fler twelve years as a secretary. Mary bruce. 36. of Kent. Ohio, decided to put typing and filing behind her and pre-pare for more challenging work in adversiting. Rom Katt. a 37-year-old News. A proper of the second of the

All three are pursuing a common path to their various appirations. They are going to college, whether returning or enrolling for the first time. And although they may be older than some of their preting the control of the control of their preting the control of the control of their preting the control of the contr

make up a majority in college classrooms. One reason for the surge in older students is demographic. The baby bus of the late '05 and '150, bas meant a shrinking pool of college-age youngers. To fill half-imply lecture halls—and deplated cofmembers of the over-25 set. At the same time, the shift toward service industries and advanced technology has made higher education attractive to workers who want or need to upgrade their careers. "The changing world of work brings lots of

"The changing world of work brings lots of people back," says Harvey Stedman, dean of New York University's School of Continuing Education, one of the oldest and largest adult programs in the country. Mature students are often more focused and less obsessed with competing than their teenage counterparts, who are apt to fret over grades and whether they have a date on Saurday night. An impressive 21% of the 443 graduates of Smith College's Ada Comstock Program, which enrolls women 22 and older, are holders of Phi Beta Kappa keys. 45% except the control of the developed program. "These women know what they are doing."

Diese also demanding consumers. Alternumber of older students has risen, so have calls for on-site day care. Recibilitiers observed the sumber of course schedules to a accommodate dilutine jobs, longer hours for campus books sores and libraries, and more aggressive job convesting and placement. Schools are rethinkings who they are: "We have had to come down from our ivory tower." say Donald Baker, dean of the College of Continuing Education at Rochester Institute of Technology (R.I.T.). "Quality and service are as important in education as in midutry."

To integrate its older students into campus life. Chatham College, a small liberal arts school for women in Pittsburgh, renovated a separate dorm for adults Berry Hall is convenient, affordable (5390 a month for a mother and child, including utilities), day care is provided nearby. The University of California at Santa Cruz, where 1,500 of the 9,000 students are beyond the kegarty stage, provides subsidized family

To cater to women scattered across the farm belt, St. Mary-of-the-Woods College near Terre Haute, Ind., lets students earn degrees through independent

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study, conferring with professors by phone and mail. The program accounts for more than half the college's 950 students. Many of the women are retooling for off-the-farm careers to supplement their family income. For Teresa Miller, 40, who is working toward a degree in social work, studying on campus would have meant commuting 100 miles a day. "This way," she says," I can pick up the kids. do errands on the farm and still go to school."

Money is perhaps the most serious obstate for older students, who are often ineligible for college scholarships because of their part-time status. Increasingly, companies are filling the gap, subsidizing at least part of their employees' education costs. At R.1.7.70% of the students in the continuing-education program get corporate support.

Not all older students find themselves juggling children, term papers



At Kent State, aspiring ad exec Bruce

Some 70% of older students work full time.

and jobs of course. Many—mostly the nation's growing population of retirees—seek out campuses for old-fashineed intellectual fulfillment. "Ever since I got out of college. I wanted to go back," says retired lawyer Robert Fried-man, 73, who is one of 400 students enrolled in Harvard's Institute for Learning in Retirement, a program of course specially created for and utught by retirees on the Cambridge campus. Eckent tershurg, has even opened a 133-unit senior citizen condominium on its campus. complete with 60 nursing beds.

As the average age of the U.S. population continues to rise, the future for adult education seems bright. "I could easily go to school for the rest of my life," says Chatham student Bobbi Hill. 38, who flunked out of college the first time around but is now on her way to a degree in history and philosophy. In the decades to come, colleges are gambling that millinos of adults will share her enthusiasm. —By Susan Tifk.

—By Susan Tifk.

Gallagher/New York

#### Living

#### **Around and Around Again**

Death to disco: strike up a Moonlight Serenade and dance

W ay up high in Manhattan's Rainbow Bow Room, where troubles melt like lemon drops and everyone looks more handsome than they result yet. Le table coccas is doing a passable fost-riot with his daughter. This great. The may be received the beautiful to the service of the servi

of Fred Astaire Dance World in Pheenix. Everyone has an explanation: ballroom dancing is more challenging than aerobics, safer than singles bars, gentler than jogging and more stimulating than Friday-night television. "The return of ballroom." says New York City bandleader Stan Rubin, "is a search for the best of what was

Young people in particular are finding more occasions that require some expertise on the dance floor, at the least, they want to be able to waltz at their weddings. Rubin's swing group plays at about sport. Some athletes find it a welcome break from grueling training regimens. Former Los Angeles Rams offensive tackle Doug France discovered that "dancing helped my concentration in football." Paul von Beroldingen, a public relations consultant in San Francisco. maintains that "dancing helps my running because it improves my posture, and running helps my dancing because I build stamina-it takes a lot to get through a cha-cha." Other converts appreciate the discipline and challenge of an activity that cannot be faked. "Ballroom dancing cannot be learned by watching American Bandstand," says David Allmuth, a Sacramento construction worker. "The moves are articulate, not haphazard like rock-'n'-roll dancing.

But for most people the pleasure lies in



High style in New York City: at the Rainbow Room, ballroom devotees find the best of a bygone age



Steppin' out in Chicago: Karl's Satin Doll

deco aerie. Says psychologist Penny Binn, who dances at the Rainbow Room every week with her husband of 27 years: "I don't know uf a place where there are so many unattainable things in one spot."

Well, not so unattainable as they used to be. After near extinction in the 1960s and '70s, ballroom dancing has waltzed back into fashion. "Almost every romantic comedy movie I've seen lately has a ballroom-dance scene," observes Hilary Ginsberg, co-owner of New York City's Roseland, with one of the largest dance floors in the world Across the land. nightclubs are revising their programs to meet the demand for a place to swing. mambo, tango or waltz. Business at private dance studios is booming, with an estimated 600,000 students signing up for lessons this year. "We have had to increase our staff this past year by almost 50% to accommodate the growing de100 such receptions a year. "I ask 22- to 27-year-olds how much rock 'n' roll they want, and often they say, 'None.' They want to do the fox-trot and the lindy." For some it may turn out to be a professional necessity: young executives bring their husbands or wives to business dinners and find that they are both out of step.

The dynamic of the dance floor can be intergenerational and noncommittal. "It's a great way to get to know someon without having to date them." suggests Marge Gabbert, owner of Fascinating Rhythm, a dance studio in San Francisco. Says Marsha Dubrow, a Washington france writer. "This is sensual without being sexual Certainly fear of Albs is a con-cen-but all so think that the complexity of the times and the epidemic fear of the complexity of the times and the epidemic fear of the complexity of the times and the epidemic fear of the complexity of the times and the epidemic fear of the complexity of the times and the epidemic fear of the complexity of the times and the epidemic fear of the complexity of the times and the epidemic fear of the complexity of the c

50% to accommodate the growing demand," says Richard Mundt, co-owner around ballroom dancing as a contact. Raffety/New York

the atmospherics, the dressing up and stepping out. After a few years of deafening disco, couples appreciate chandeliers that do not revolve, single-ses, bathrooms, peachy lighting, a buttery floor, music they can talk over or sing to. Some people take care to dress the part, the men in black tie, care to dress the part, the men in black tie, Gay Nineties skirns set off with antique purses and peacock feathers in their hair. "I was living in slacks," saws Joanne

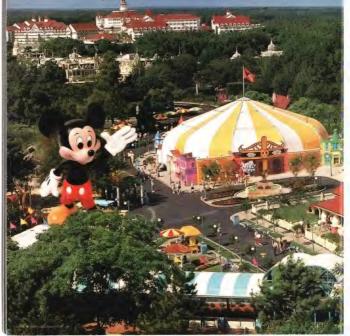
West, 42, a suburban housewife. "I was in desperate need of dressing up." Now every weekend she and her husband head downtown to Chicago's new club, Karl's Satin Doll, for an elegant evening. "We were falling into the couch-potato thing," she says, "but this has helped us get up and out." So even a soft spin dan out "So even a soft spin dan out in the couch potato thing." And out "So even a soft spin dan out in the couch of the spin o

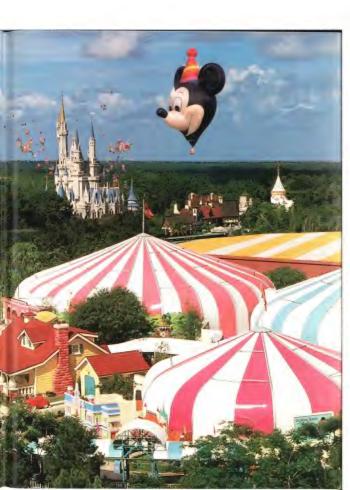
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# Books

# The Terms Of Fatal Endearment

ANYTHING FOR BILLY

by Larry McMurtry; Simon & Schuster; 382 pages; \$18.95

#### BY R.Z. SHEPPARD

B yall accounts. Billy the Kid was nothing more than Charles Manson in cowboy boots. Still, history has never fared well against legend, which not only alters facts but also stages the conversions in a nostalgic half-light. Larry McMurtry has become a master of this illusion, partly because he continues to sharpen his gifts for narrative and character, but mainly because his themes belong to our cultural gene pool. Lonesome Dove (1985), a long. winding fable packed with salty old coots and ferocious Indians, camped on the best-seller lists for months. Even when McMurtry was writing about the smalltown Texas of his 1950s adolescence (The Last Picture Show) or the air-conditioned Houston of the 1960s and '70s (Terms of Endearment), one felt the presence of the Old American West, the place of great escape and abiding solitude.

In Anything for Billy McMurty's terms of endearment are intentionally made more difficult to accept. His Billy Bone is an impetuous, cold-blooded killer of children and defenseless old men. Yet he is surrounded by a cadre of congenial friends and lovers who attempt to protect him. especially from himself. McMurtry takes pains to make the Kid physically as



Wistful appeal, larger-than-life characters and the folkore of horse-opera bouffe.

well as morally repugnant. He is a puny, unkempt, chip-toothed teenager who suffers from headaches and fainting spells. He is probably nearsighted, which explains his poor marksmanship.

What then is the attraction?

The answer is wistfully framed by one of McMurtry's more appealing creations. Benjamin J. Sippy is a type once familiar in the life and fireature of young America. He is a remittance man, a gentleman hand on his letter of credit. As the novel's narrator. Ben tells how he transformed himself from a narmchair wrangler in Philadelphia into a sidekick of the fronter's most feared gunfighter. Step I was to read all the dime weaters he could get his dimension of the control of the country of the countr

Step 3 included leaving his wife and nine daughters to become a train robber. It was a short career. One look at this middleaged dude waving a pistol from the top of a mule, and the engineer just waved back.

Sippy first crosses trails with Billy the kid in Apache country. The boy outlaw is accompanied by Joe Lovelady, as noble and loyal a cowboy as can be found in any ballad. The danger that the failed train robber will be summarily shot for jous being in Billy's way is diminished by the early recognition that, as the narrancy. Sippy must survive. McMurrty breaks his active the object of the companies of the companies into short lakes, a form suited to the epinion short lakes, a form suited to the pint of the companies of the companies actors who are larger than life but just the right size for this sort of literature. Katie Garza can outshoot Annie Oakley. Will landlass owns a spread as was as the mind



# A Writer's Trail

Texan Larry McMurtry used to sport around in a sweatshirt with MiNOR REGIONAL NOVELIST printed across the front. He has since outgrown both the garment and its modest appraisal. His novels about ranch life, poky towns and

the restless culture of his native states: brash cities have brought him major critical acciaim. Lonesome Dove won a Pulitzer Prize two years ago. Films based on his books Horseman, Pass By Huld. The Last Pieture Show and Terms of Endearment earned him wider recognition. His associations with the stars, including a friendship with Cybill Shepherd, gave him the right to have a sweatshirt that could advertise MINOR INGLEWOOD CELEBRITY

But there is also McMurtry the successful antiquarian bookdealer, whose Booked Up bookstore in Washington is a favorite haunt of the capital city's bibliophiles. "Having a bookstore is a good balance to writing." says McMurry, 52, sounding like a man who has learned to distribute his burdens evenly. "Writing is solitary. Bookselling is social." It is also an expanding business. There are Booked Up branches in Dallas and Houston and hopes for another in California.

That would fit in with what McMurtry calls his tricostal life "I have a little track that I follow about once a month. I start in Washington and go to Texas. Arizona and California in easy stages. I check on my stores and see family and friends." Moving on, to borrow the title of one of his novels, also seems to put McMurtry in touch with what he once described as his "herding instincts." Whether he is gathering words into evocative hictions or Whether he is gathering words into evocative hictions or what we have a superior or the start of the start of the haskept him out of a common are volume. In inhorn drive progressive," he wisely notes. "Writers get worse as hely get older. But antiquarians get better because they increase their knowledge and experience."





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can imagine. Mesty-Woolah is a 7-ft. African who swings a swift sword from the back of a camel. The lusty Lady Snow speaks the King's English even when propositioning every hand in the bunkhouse.

Anything for Billy does for the guiflighter what Lonesone Dove did for the trail-driving coveboy: re-creates a brief but the Billy book does something more. Through Ben Sippo, dime novelist and later a scenarist for western movies. McMurry confects a folicitor about the making of folikitor. By adding his special glow tolongforgation pall fection and the advent of a manifest destiny enhanced the second would a nation that strongly believed in its manifest destiny enshine in its legends.

# Royal Pain

THE SHAH'S LAST RIDE by William Shawcross

Simon & Schuster; 463 pages; \$19.95

espite his commiserative subtitle. The Fate of an Ally, William Shawcross does not allow the reader to forget that Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, the late Shah of Iran, was a pathetic symbol of a corrupt and repressive regime. His fate was to be thrust, ill-suited by temperament or training, into the leadership of a nation whose strategic geography and petroleum resources dictated a major role in the 20th century. Publicly he professed a grand vision, a White Revolution that would modernize his nation. Privately he played the Oriental potentate, surrounded by toadies, pimps and the kitschy trappings of new wealth

In 1971 the Shah celebrated his reign with a \$300 million extravaganza. The Pahlavi "dynasty" had just started its sixth decade, the outcome of a coup mounted by the Shah's father. Reza Khan, an army officer whom some regarded as the Bismarck of Persia. Flying high on his magic



Shawcross: a sorry story of political leprosy

carpet. The Shah is seemed out of touch with the forces anthring against him. Resentment of his Western ways was fainted by the Mustim Cergy Intellectuals, students and professionals thought the figure position in Rutriational uniform and a Disney-land crown was not Western enough. These dissenters requently attracted the attention of the security police (sAVAK) the word and hastened the coming of Ayatulah Khomeini svengeful theorems.

Shawcross briskly recounts the Shah's decline and fall, from the first wobbles of the Peacock Throne to the restrained dash to the airport with Oueen Farah Diba, their entourage and pets. But unlike luckier deposed billionaires, the Shah did not have a soft landing. He had cancer and was coming down with an acute case of political leprosy. Switzerland, France and Britain, concerned about oil and terrorism, rolled up the welcome mat. Despite entreaties by the Rockefellers, who handled the fallen Shah's finances and provided him with a live-in public relations man, and Henry Kissinger, President Jimmy Carter kept the door shut. This position hardened after the U.S. embassy in Tehran was overrun and the hostages taken in November 1979

Egypt, Morocco and Mexico provided temporary havens, but as the Pahlavis were forced to move on, they increasingly found themselves in a dog-eat-Shah world. Ten cramped weeks in the Bahamas cost them an extortionate \$1.2 million, Panama's late Omar Torrijos excended his hospitality and then made passes at the Oueen.

Shawcross ferrets out a wealth of political diplomatic and intelligence detail, as well as a fragrant cache of jet-set gossip. In his prime, the Shah had a special yen for Lufthans hostesses but also entertained a variety of lovelies flown in from Mmc Claude's in Paris His other tastes were rich, but, oddly, Iran's leading personase did not eat vavair.

In October 1979, in desperate need of treatment, the Shah was allowed to enter the U.S. temporarily. By the time he checked into New York Hospital, he had an international collection of physicians. Shawcross's last chapters reverberate with the clash of medical opinions and Shawcross's last chapters reverberate with the clash of medical opinions and Shawcross's in I gyri, where his spiece was removed by the renowned Texas heart surgeon Michael DeBaleky. The procedure also revealed fatal malignancies of the liver.

On July 27, 1980. Radio Tehran announced the death of "the bloodsucker of the century." The judgment was self-servens and exagerated the Bhash's stature Shawerosis story of a pawn in King's clothing comes to a sorrier conclusion. The Shash's regue, this book suggests, was less a study in the banality of evil than the banality of pride. — B.R.2. Sheppard

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Surreal Odyssey LAST NOTES FROM HOME

by Frederick Exlev

Random House: 397 pages: \$18.95

man named Frederick Exley sits on A the balcony outside his room in a Honolulu hotel, sipping vodka and heating up steaks on m portable grill. It is his wedding night, and he and his bride have just had their first tiff as husband and wife. Eventually, she stops sulking and joins him. "Dropping to her knees," Exley writes, "she grasped my bare thighs and begged me to please, please, please remove the grilling fork from my chest." Exley, in other words, is up to the same trick he demonstrated in A Fan's Notes (1968) and Pages from a Cold Island (1975): spinning out fanciful autobiographical legends that regularly leave the author skewered.

Last Notes from Home adds flesh to the fictive narrator of the two earlier books. Literally. "The dude I call Exley," as the writer refers to his hero, stands 5 ft. 10 in.

Exley: skewered

loons up to 180 lbs... thanks to the metabolism of aging, innumerable beers and a quart or so of liquor a day. He still lives in his native upstate New York, where he keeps his mother company in her house. When he learns that his older

brother William, a

and occasionally bal-

retired colonel in the U.S. Army, is dying of cancer in Hawaii, Exley hops a plane along with "the old lady," and another nonstop monologue is under way.

Ostensibly, this pilgrimage to pay respects to and then bury the dead is Exley's story. In practice, the narrative evolves into a surrealistic odyssey. On his flight, Exley bumps into James Seamus Finbarr O'Twoomey, a preposterously gross Irishman with an equally incredible brogue ("Frederick, me lurverly, there you go again") who will later hold the hapless author hostage in a Pacific paradise. Also aboard is the future Mrs. Exley, a murderously sexy flight attendant named Robin.

While keeping all these odd characters, including his own, in frenetic movement. Exley again demonstrates his skill at hallucinatory free association. The point of the exercise may be lost on those who expect stories to make sense. For Exley addicts, there is another concern. He calls Last Notes "the third volume of my trilogy." Why he should stop where this book does, with the narrator newly married and looking for trouble, requires a full explanation. At the very least, Exley should go for a tetralogy. - By Paul Gray



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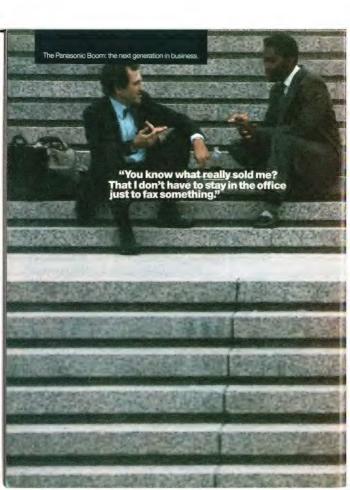
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DIANA AND ENDYMION

# A Classicist Who Burned with Inner Fire

Fort Worth offers the U.S.'s first Poussin retrospective

#### BY ROBERT HUGHES

Locals Foussin (1594-1655) was the greatest French artist of the 17th century; the founder of his country; the founder of his country; the founder of his country; the founder of his country shock off its provinciality and power of the symbol, with him. French painting shock off its provinciality and power of the symbol which the foundation of the shock o

He first went there in 1624 and stayed for years. What did he do? Amazingly enough, no U.S. museum until now has tried to tell us there has never been a Poussin retropective in this work, are in American collections. But now the gap has been filled. Through Nov. 27. "Poussin: the Early Years in Rome: containing 36 paintings and 38 drawings by the master, is on view at the Kimbell Art Museum in Fort Worth. The William of the Worth Carlo and the State of the

the art historian Konrad Oberhuber, who has carried Poussin studies well beyond the point at which they were left at the death of Anthony Blunt. It will not travel to any other museums. And it is a wonder-ful show, bound to correct whatever stereotypes one may have about Poussin the cold, the correct, the theoretician of mode and decorring.

To the 17th century the classical world was the locus of ideal beauty, but how did a Frenchman enter it? A writer could read Vergil without leaving Paris, but a painter had to go to Rome. There, ancient sculpture and architecture abounded: from them, antiquity could be reimagined. It was the strength of the reimagining, not just its archaeological correctness, that counted Poussin's main regular job during his Roman years was drawing records of ancient sculpture for a rich antiquary and scholar named Cassiano dal Pozzo. This gave him excellent access to collections, and the time to develop the repertoire of figures that would fill his work in years to come. Rome was not just a bonevard of suggestive antiques: it was full of living art whose plasticity. color and narrative richness surpassed anything he could see in France-Caravaggio, Pietro da Cortona, the Carracci. But Pozzo's main gift to Poussin was the intellectual background that enabled a melancholy, impetuous young Frenchman to become the chief peintre-philosophe of his age.

his young man has the inner fire of a devil." wrote one of Poussin's Roman acquaintances. Indeed, Poussin's vitality in reconceiving the antique is the clue to his art. His renderings of classical myths struck back to the root. Poussin was more of a sensualist than people think. You want to roll on his grass, sprawl under the shotsilk blue and honey-colored sky that unfurls over his Roman campagna. His goddesses and nymphs grow up out of the earth; they have not dropped from Olympus. They carry their archaism like a bloom. There is more sexual tension between the white goddess and the kneeling shepherd in Diana and Endymion, 1628. than in a hundred Renoirs. This, for Poussin, is part of classicism. "The beautiful girls you will have seen at Nimes," he wrote to a friend in 1642, "will not, I am certain, delight your spirits less than the sight of the beautiful columns of the Maison Carrée, since the latter are only ancient copies of the former.

But antiquity mattered to him for other reasons. It was law. Deprived of its influence, a painter could go off the rails and become a fribbling back, a "strappazone," he wrote in Paris, "like all the others who are here." Its modes, proportions and sense of decorum-which Poussin understood not as a mere formula for elegance but as the basis for appropriate treatment of all subjects, from a battle piece to a pastorale-had to be matched. But since no ancient paintings beyond a few grotesques and crumbling patches of fresco survived, matching entailed the most strenuous invention. And so for Poussin, the one thing that truly sustained creation was the inseminating authority of the past

Poussin was to art what his contemporary Pierre Corneille beame to drama. As La Bruyère said of Corneille, he "junite men as they ought to be." The world of Corneille Serent tragedies of the 1649s. such as Rodenmon or Hierare, is prefigured in Poussin and just the reflection of classical drama, but its heightening into a schematic grandeur where will, by are in real life, and exemplary self-sacrifice resolves the conflict between duty and passion.

The manifesto of this in Poussin's early work is The Death of Germanicus. 1627. Germanicus Julius Caesar, conqueror of Germany, was sent to command Rome's eastern provinces and died in Antioch in



THE DEATH OF GERMANICUS

This magisterial painting's means match its narrative. Its pictorial structure, with the blues, reds and golds pealing like single strokes of a gong in the warm internal light, is irreducibly taut. Poussin's ancient Romans are not the insipid, stony denizens of lesser classical art but men and women of vivid presence; their gestures have a superb dramatic coherence and intensity. If one had to pick one image to sum up the best qualities of baroque painting all'antica, this would be it.

A.D. 19. poisoned—so it was believed by a jealous Roman governor. He soon became an archetype of the betrayed hero

Poussin turns this incident into a tremendous oration on duty and continuity. overlaid with Christian allusions to the entombment of Jesus, whose life Germanicus' overlapped. The hero lies dving heneath the frame of a blue curtain, which suggests both a temple pediment and a military tent. On the right are his wife, women servants and little sons; on the left, his soldiers and officers. The common soldier on the far left weeps inarticulately, his grandly modeled back turned toward us. Next to him, a centurion in a billowing red cloak starts forward: grief galvanized to action in the present. Then a goldarmored pillar of a general in a blue cloak (adapted from an antique bas-relief) projects grief forward into the future by

swearing an oath of revenge: Poussin hides the man's face to suggest that this is not a personal matter but one of history itself

The target of this socially seconding wave of resolution is not only Germanicus (whose exhausted head on the pillow width predicts the style of Géricault nearly 200 years later) but also his little son, whose blue cloak matches the general's: the women suffer, but the boy learns, remembers and will had. The more Germanicus unfolds, the more one realizes will obtain a consideration of the control of the contr

Later in life Poussin would complain of the pressure of commissions. "Monsieur, these are not things that can be done at the crack of a whip." he wrote to

his friend and patron Chantelou in 1645. "like your Parisian painters who make a sport of turning out a picture in twentyfour hours." But in his Roman youth, he could and did turn them out, and it would be idle to pretend that all early Poussin is on the same level. Some paintings are much less "finished" than others. A few are hackwork (such as Hannibal Crossing the Alps, done for Pozzo, who had a thing about elephants). And one painting from San Francisco's De Young Museum. The Adoration of the Golden Calf, does not survive comparison; it is clearly not by Poussin at all, though it shows how fanatically others imitated him. But the unevenness is part of Poussin's development: an artist in the real world, discovering the true tone of his ideas. Young Poussin did not paint plaster gods, and he was not one himself.

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# Cinema



No hope higher than survival: Syed in Salaam Bombay.

# **Subcontinental Divide**

In two new films, Indian youth struggles for independence

merican cinema, like American poli- | time and loyalty She will goad Manek to tics, is an us-first industry. It rarely looks outside its own swagger and complacency to take notice of other cultures. And when it does, it often sees ethnic differences not as alternate world views but as tribal foibles, worthy only of our imperial derision. We ignore or scorn those who

may one day be our masters. So a director like John Schlesinger-England-bred but with a resume full of Hollywood hits (Midnight Cowboy, Marathon Man)-earns some respect when, in his new film Madame Sousatzka, he considers the clash of Anglo and Indian cultures. And Mira Nair, born in India and educated at Harvard, is to be cheered when she brings Auntie MacLaine in American movie expertise to Madame Sousatzka her Salaam Bombay! In each

film a bright Indian boy comes of age and finds the struggle for independence and maturity as daunting as it was for his country. Both are films of good intentions, but there the resemblance ends. Madame Sousatzka is a cracked cameo. Salaam Bombay!a poignant. imposing fresco.

Madame Sousatzka (Shirley Mac-Laine) teaches piano and shares a London house with a few other distressed gentlefolk. They might all be sitting on a verandah above the Ganges a half-century ago, waiting for the subcontinental jewel to fall out of the imperial crown. But now Madame has taken on Manek (Navin Chowdhry), a gifted Indian lad, as her prize pupil. She will wage war with his beautiful mother (Shabana Azmi) over his

greatness and lose a bit of her heart. In an earlier life Shirley MacLaine was a splendid actress. Not so in her current incarnation as the Auntie Mame of films and chat shows Her Madame is a cacophony of jangling bracelets and coquettish demands-just the sort of acting that wins

Oscars Schlesinger's direction suits his star, with visual metaphors as subtle as a wrecking ball against a London house. Down goes the old world of nattering gentility; up comes the high-rise of Third World

In Salaam Bombay!, tenyear-old Krishna (Shafiq Syed) has no hope higher than survival. His mother has thrown him out, and he must earn 500 rupees in the churning Bombay slums. Is this a death sen-

tence? No, it is a challenge for the resourceful Krishna Does the film curtsy to liberal pieties? No. it sees the city as a school for life-life as it is for millions of Asian children His neighbors may be prostitutes and pushers, but they are neither fiends nor Artful Dodgers; they are individuals come to bracing anecdotal life. And Bombay may not be paradise, but for Krishna II is surely an adventure.

The film is an adventure too, a tightrope dance between sociology and sentiment. Salaam Bombay! deserves a broad audience, not just to open American eves to plights of hunger and homelessness abroad, but to open American minds to the vitality of a cinema without rim shots and happy endings - By Richard Cortiss

# **Shaggy Don Story**

THINGS CHANGE Directed by David Mamet; written by David Mamet and Shel Silverstein

ld Gino (Don Ameche) has started to enjoy himself. A few days ago. this sad, gracious Italian American was an anonymous Chicago bootblack. Now circumstance-his resemblance to an aging Mafia don accused of murder-has landed him in the capacious bathroom of a penthouse suite at Lake Tahoe, accompanied by his friend Jerry (Joe Mantegna) and two attentive chorus girls. So he tells them the fable of The Ant and the Grasshopper The ant, he work all-a the time. The grasshopper, he do nothin' but play. And at the end. "the grasshopper eat-a the ant.

Neither man is used to such luxury. Their lives have been litanies of obsequiousness, shining the shoes and licking the boots of the powerful. Jerry is a gangland gofer, and his fluky luck makes him edgy But if all of Tahoe mistakes Gino for an underworld big shot-"the guy behind the guy behind the guy"-Jerry will play out the sham. "Everybody likes you." he notes, "when you're someone else.

Things Change smells of cigar smoke and draft from the tap. It has the gimleteyed sentiment that used to lace the fiction of big-city newshawks like Damon Runyon and Ben Hecht. Woody Allen toured this territory in Broadway Danny Rose, but that movie was mostly texture. This one is pure text; performance, direction, atmosphere are all driven by the warp speed of narrative. Mamet's cagey, coiled playwright prose is on holiday here, but you are unlikely to miss it. Instead, you share the pleasure he takes in spinning a favorite old tale in the shank of a lazy back-room evening with the boys.



Two grasshoppers: Mantegna and Ameche Cigar smoke and draft from the tap.

# People

BY HOWARD G. CHUA-EOAN. Reported by David E. Thigpen/New York



# **Introducing the Wilbury Brothers**

The Traveling Wilburys look familiar, but Lucky, Olis, Charlie Jr. Nelson and Lefty Wilbury, whose single Handle with Care is apping through the alreaves, claim descent from According to The Traveling Wilburys, an album that will reach stores next Tuesday, the claim once created music that "had the power to stave off madness, turn to stave off madness.

brunets into blonds and increase the size of ears." The sleeve notes, written by a faculty member of the University of Krakatoa (East of Java), go on to say that the tribe's remnants have taken up hairdressing or, worse, become TV rental salespeople. But this particular handful still plays the old "epic and heroic tales." Even on close inspection, they could pass for other modern-day musical heroes Bob Dylan, Jeff Lynne of E.L.O. Tom Petty. George Harrison and Ray Orbison. There just might be a connection Harrison and Lynne are said to be in the habi of calling troublesome recording glitches "Wilburys"—as in "Damn that Wilbury." Pick up that Wilbury's for me" and "Let thy Wilbury done."

# Bigger Than Wallet Size

A picture may be worth a thousand words, but can family photos be worth a hundred grand? Yes, if you're Marella Agnelli, or five other wealthy families who have plunked down \$100,000 to have themselves memorialized by glitterati photographer Richard Avedon. There is nothing senseless about



this self-indulgence. The money will be going to the American Foundation for Aus Research. Says Avedon, who plans to raise \$1 million this way: "It's a crisis. It's a plague. It's the least I can do."

# Confederacy of Con Men

"It's an antagonized forced partnership in a dubious enterprise." So says Michael Caine of his pairing with Steve Marthin in Dirty Rotten Scoundrels, Orion's Christmas release. As a con artist on the French Riviera, the slick-haired Caine bilks widows of their fortunes by impersonating multimillionaires and princes. Martin's character operates with less suavity, He musters the most class when he masquerades as Caine's obnoxious younger brother. "It's the loosest character I've ever played," says Martin. "He lies easily, he tells really bad stories, and he thinks he's a sophisticate. He's an ugly American." Indeed, he even dons T shirts and blue jeans, Items the dapper Martin says he would never wear off camera. At least on film, the wild and crazy guy is back.



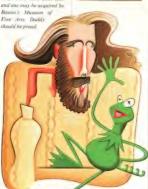
# Daddy Rules, I Paint

During China's Cultural Revolution, the fortunes of the artist Dene Lin 47 plummeted along with those of her father. Deng Xiaoping. In that chaotic period she was forbidden her watercolorist's palette. But now, she says, "whatever is in the past is in the past." Deny Xiaoping is China's grav eminence, and Deng Lin is painting again. This month she was in New York City exhibiting 24 of her works. So far, ten have been sold and one may be acquired by



# **Breastplates by Tiffany**

Who says an Iron Lady can't be fashionable? According to syndicated columnist Suzy, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was "thrilled" to be on the International Best-Dressed List. In a thank-you note to the List, Thatcher, who prefers suits to gowns even for galas, wrote, "I find practical clothes, sometimes mixed and matched to give a different effect, are the best for my life-style, which sometimes involves a very quick change." But only conservative change. At a recent fashion show Thatcher, most of whose clothes are by Aquascutum, sorted a bare-shouldered Anne Klein pantsuit. Said Thatcher: "It's lovely, but It's not for me or a woman of my age." The Iron Lady knows that exposure can lead to rust in the drigity English weather.



# Henson Flips Out

Jim Henson isn't hiding behind his puppets any longer. Together with his hand-inglove alter ego. Kermit the Frog. the Muppet Master will become the very visible host of *The Jim Henson Hour*. which airs on NBC in January. While still mischiewous, the show, he says, will be "issue oriented." dealing with 
subjects like pollution 
and TV But while the 
Frog remains, the old Mupns Show menagerie has been 
replaced by new characters 
of unspecified phyla. Ubu. 
Digit. Lindberg. Leon and 
Zondra, A sixth. Waldo, will 
be ecomputer generated. Says 
the computer generated Says.

Henson: "Puppets evolve.



# Essay

By Richard Brookhiser

# Lighten Up, This Campaign Isn't So Bad

he hills are alive, with the sound of bitching. "This most dismal of presicampaigns. dential wailed Elizabeth Drew. in her most recent "Letter from Washington" in The New Yorker, "... has set a new low in modern campaigning." A few weeks earlier Page One of the New York Times's Week in Review gave the cartoon expression of this glum sentiment: Michael Dukakis and George Bush. pintsize brats, sticking their tongues out at each other in infantile fury. The 1988

election is, by general agreement, the dirtiest and dumbest

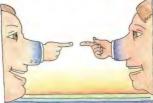
election in recent memory, maybe ever Lighten up, everybody. This election is well within the normal range of modern American presidential contests which is to say, it is fairly earnest, notably clean and even informative. If you know what to lock for A glance at the record dispest the notion that this election is specularly fairly or dishomest. Only eight years ago, the election was married by locaguil-by-suscolution as even to present the properties of the publican propagands of 1800, the Federalists were alleged to be cryptorogalists and Anglomanics, the Federalists, in their turn, painted their opposite numbers as Jacobins, who lusted to pick pockets and rape daughters. Talkabastu the "Lisword.

What about the rhetorical level at which the campaign hese conducted? We are a long way, certainly, from the intellectual intricacies of the Lincoln-Douglas debates (which incidentally, occurred in a senatorial, not a presidential, election). But even the crudest gestures, if unpacked with care, will be found to contain some serious intent.

Take the Republican assault on Governor Dukakis over the Pledge Allegiance. This barre-knucled attack aimed to accomplish two things. One was to locate and identify the Governor for a national audience. The Republicans' intentions, of course, were malign, but they found their opening in Dukakis' Faltaive bocurrity outside his home state. The Republicans hoped that a trivial action, which had passed aimost unnoticed in the political culture of Massachisests, would have a different resonance when replayed in the polittic pledge attack, was to restate a old Republican Parry theme: the G.O.P.'s patristism is somehow a sturdier affair than the Democrats. It may be a stander, but it's comething Republicans have been saying or implying since the "50s. The Democrats. for their part, kicked off the campaignat

their convention with an orgy of anti-Bush preppie bashing. The most quoted line, delivered by Ann Richards in her keynote speech, was that Bush was born "with a silver foot in his

Richard Brookhiser is a senior editor of the National Review, and author of The Outside Story.



mouth." The best lines came from Texas agriculture commissioner Jim Hightower, depicting a gathering of Bushmen around the yacht-club bar. "sipping a delightfully fruity and frisky white wine, saying 'Play it again, George" This was not random abuse but an effort to energize voters who expect Democrats to look out for the little guy-a venerable Democratic tactic. handed down from Franklin D. Roosevelt (himself an aristocrat)

that happen to fall outside traditional parties agendary special case don't act, they react. So it's not surprising agendary should be a lap between a problem's first appearance in the and in summone's stump appear, between the and in summone's stump appear, between it and problem and the ornake their way into the campaign. Neither drugs nor the environment was a deciding falsor in any recent presidential reaches the appearance of the problem and the study of the study

This campaign has had more trouble dealing with old issues that are intractable, the budget deficit being No. 1. Although Dukakis and Bush have introduced some refinements into the arguments advanced by their predecessors four years ago—the Democrats, obviously, have avoided promising to make everyone's trues this time are under promising to make everyone's trues this time arounding other than the last election's winner: sign off on a bipartisan effort like Gramma-Rudman-Hollings that accomplishes essentially nothing.

Clearly we are dealing with a failure of political will. But that failure extends beyond the candidates, to the voters. The Republican Party refuses to raise taxes: the Democratic Party refuses to cut nonmilitary spending; and the American people more or less agree with both positions. Until they abandon one or the other, they'll be stuck with the problem.

The budget deficit, after all, is not the first great issue to be fudged in an election. In 1940, with Western Europe plunged into war and the rest of the globe poised to follow. The American people were faced with a choice between a pair of interventionists, F.D.R. and Wendell Wilkie. But both men, dissombling their true convictions, came down the campaign homestretch as quasi-isolationists. Their waffing reflected a multimal division, not closed until Pearl Harbor.

Presidential elections aren't campaigns in utopia. But that's because this republic is run on different principles than Plato's. An American election is a conversation. It tells us what the parties and the voters are visiling to say and hear If it does so with a minimum of muck and outright lying, it has done its job relatively well. This one has. Bring on. Dan Onavle and the ACLU. Cards.

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# Third in a Series

# THE ART OF CONVERSATION

# by Steve Allen

As a television talk-show host for twelve years, I've had conversations with many exceptional people, but it's my seven grandchildren with whom I now particularly enjoy talking. My most frequent interview subject at the moment is three-yearold Bradley Taylor Allen:

"We're interviewing would-be Senator Bradley Allen. Mr. Allen, what will you do if you are elected to office?"

"I will do what I'm s'pose to do."
"But what specifically might that
be?"

Whatever my Daddy tells me to."
We have conversations like that
all the time, and they invariably lift
my spirits. Bradley is such a natural
little comedian that I get a kick out
of hearing the lines that so easually
come tumbling out of his mouth.
He seems to sense he's giving me
special enjoyment and delights in
making me laugh. At times when
we're to gother and he sees how fast
he can break me up, he laughs so
hard he falls down.

But Brad is a very confident little fellow, partly, I think, because he has learned that he has the magical power to make others laugh. And laughter, at its best, is an expression of love.

It's strange how the gift of humor, like other abilities, runs in the genetic pool of certain families. My mother and father were a vaucille comedy team, each of my four sons has a good sense of humor, and their children seem to have inherited the knack, in varying degrees.

Bradley is our son Bill's firstborn. Because Jayne and I live close to Bill, while my other sons and their families live out of state, I get lots of opportunities to be around Brad. Sometimes the things he says are amusing because they sound so adult. The other day we were watching the Muppets on TV. 'Kermit the Frog is funny,' I re-

marked. "Don't you think, Bradley?"
"Yeah," he said, shaking his head
like an old philosopher, "he's really
a character."

When we visit Brad, we invariably pick up new stories. Once, just after he and his brother Bobby, who's two, were put to bed, Brad called, "Bobby wants a drink of water."

"You two have already had water," his mother Marie said. With that, Bradley whispered to Bobby, "Cry!" and right on cue, Bobby gave out a loud, phony Wath! Downstairs, Bill and Marie hoped they couldn't be heard laughing.

Often my talks with Bradley take place on the phone, whether I'm home or away, chiefly because I love to hear this adorable little blondieboy answer: "Allen residence." He calls us too. Not long ago, the phone rang and there was Brad asking, "Can you come over to my house?"

"Well, not right now, honey."
"Okay" he said, "then can I come

"Okay" he said, "then can I come over to your house—and wear your hat?"

Many times when I return from a tring tour. Bradley is part of the welcome-home committee at the airport-a pleasure that reminds me of all the ways he's such a help to me. The other night, after I'd eaten an enormous dinner on a NY to LA. flight, Bradley, sitting next to

me in the backseat of the car, surveyed my stomach for a moment then said, "You got a baby in there?"

Who else could have reminded me so lovingly to go back on my

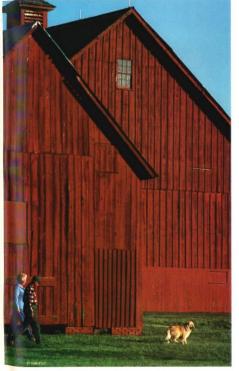
Soon I plan to tell Brad something I picked up years ago from Sam Goldwan Jr., who told me that almost every night, when he tucked his daughter into bed, he would say to her. "By the way, sweetheart, sin case the question ever comes up in future years, you are having a happy childhood." The line had a very beneficial effect on Bradley's father, who indeed had a happy time growing up.

Eventually, as the years pass, Bradley will discover that the raw material of comedy is tragedy, but at this early stage his humor is playful and innocent. I'm keeping track of all the funny things he does and says in a leather-bound notebook. just as I did with my four sons. Even now, many years after some of those incidents took place, our family still laughs, still feels a warm glow at such recollections. It's been said that the family that prays together stays together. I suppose in most cases that's true. The family that laughs together is also blessed.

Comedian-writer-composer, Steve Allen created the Tonight show. His twenty-ninth book, Adventures in the Vast Wasteland, will be published by Little, Brown next vear. 21988 Steve More

Sue Celen

When your little girl's off chasing rainbows a thousand miles from home, how do you keep her from slipping away?



# Call and bring her back.

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